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# WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

BY

HENRY E. JACKSON

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# WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

## PRICE LIST

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THE OBVERSE SIDE OF OUR NATIONAL COAT OF ARMS, WHICH IS ALSO USED AS THE GREAT SEAL OF STATE.

# WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO ME

A BOOK OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE; DESIGNED FOR THEIR USE IN PREPARING THEMSELVES FOR THE PRACTICE OF CITIZENSHIP

EDITED BY
HENRY E. JACKSON

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*This book's purpose is to promote The Citizenship Club Movement*

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NATIONAL COMMUNITY BOARD
1516 H STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1920

Educ T 729.20.465

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TO

THE ONE MILLION YOUNG MEN AND THE ADDITIONAL ONE MILLION YOUNG WOMEN (ON JUNE 5, 1918, THE NUMBER WAS 1,071,592 MEN AND 973,928 WOMEN), WHO WILL EACH YEAR CELEBRATE THEIR TWENTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY AND ENTER INTO THE DUTIES AND PRIVILEGES OF FULL CITIZENSHIP

THE CITIZENSHIP CLUB MOVEMENT

IS DEDICATED

IN THE EARNEST HOPE THAT IT MAY ASSIST THEM TO ACQUIRE A MORE INTELLIGENT APPRECIATION OF WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A MEMBER OF AMERICA

# DECLARATIONS OF LOYALTY

## LOYALTY TO THE NATION

### THE AMERICAN'S CREED

I BELIEVE in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people, whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States, a perfect Union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies.

## LOYALTY TO THE COMMUNITY

### THE EPHEBIC OATH

WE will never bring disgrace to this our city, by any act of dishonesty or cowardice, nor ever desert our comrades; we will fight for the ideals and sacred things of the city, both alone and with many; we will revere and obey the city laws, and do our best to incite a like respect and reverence in others; we will strive unceasingly to quicken the public's sense of civic duty; that thus in all these ways, we may transmit this city, greater, better, and more beautiful that it was transmitted to us.

## LOYALTY TO THE BALLOT BOX

### THE FREEMAN'S OATH, 1634.

I DO solemnly bind myself that I will give my vote as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce to the public weal, so help me God.

# THE FOREWORD

NEXT year in America one million young men will celebrate their twenty-first birthday. Next year one million young women will celebrate their twenty-first birthday. Every year two million young people will face the responsibility of assuming the full duties and rights of citizenship.

Is it not a venturesome experiment for a nation to admit to the difficult privilege of being a citizen in a democracy such a multitude of recruits with no special training for their task? Is it not an astonishing fact that for generations we have fought so strenuously for the franchise, but have done so little to prepare ourselves for its exercise?

It sometimes requires a surgical operation to awaken a nation to a realization of its obvious needs. Such an operation was performed for us by the recent World War. It helped us realize what it means to our national welfare, that among candidates for citizenship there is so large a number of resident and unprepared aliens, that the military draft revealed an appalling number of illiterates among the native-born, that less than half the citizens of America have had even a grammar school education.

The war awakened in us the conviction that some

plan of special training for citizenship is a need of paramount national importance. Theodore Roosevelt realized its importance when he said at the Sorbonne in Paris: "The average citizen must be a good citizen, if our republics are to succeed. The stream will not permanently rise higher than the main source; and the main source of national power and national greatness is found in the average citizenship of the nation. Therefore, it behooves us to do our best to see that the standard of the average citizen is kept high."

The Citizenship Club movement, which this book aims to inaugurate, is designed to meet this need, over which the nation now manifests serious concern. The movement enters a new and unoccupied field. The method it proposes to use is likewise new. It makes the bold adventure of doing a simple human thing, that is, it attempts to apply democracy to education. It dares to propose that young people take part in writing a book for their own use. It courageously proposes to practice a principle, which everyone says he believes, that education is a process of self-activity. We cannot educate a fellowman; we can only give him a chance to learn. The movement is not designed to teach patriotism to anyone, which is just as impossible as it is to teach love or religion; it aims to give young men and women an opportunity to learn how to equip themselves for the practice of citizenship in a democracy.

This principle of educational procedure is not new; it is the practice of it which is new. Thirty years ago Professor Rein of the University of Jena regarded it as so axiomatic that he stated it in this picturesque fashion: "The truth which has merely been learned adheres to us like a false member, a false tooth or a waxen nose. It has no significance for the mental life. It is a lifeless fund from which streams no animating warmth; only the truth that has been obtained by one's own reflection resembles the natural member; it alone really belongs to us." The course of training for citizenship here suggested proposes the daring and difficult idea of putting it into practice.

The author of a certain book on moral education once handed it to a friend with the request that he express his honest opinion of it. After looking it over, his friend remarked, "I do not see why I should read it — you have stated all sides of the question worked out to the last detail and dropped them on my head in the hope that they will penetrate to the inside of it. You have left nothing for me to do. Why should I study it?" This remark does not mean that the function of an expert is unnecessary. Nor does it mean that the unrelated and unorganized contributions of the people will produce an effective book. It is not a question of one or the other. Both are essential to a helpful product. The remark, however, is highly significant. It means that, if one's real creative interest

in any enterprise is to be secured or retained, he must have some part to play in it. This principle is the distinguishing characteristic of Citizenship Clubs. They are asked to give as well as to get.

The first volume of our series is itself an illustration of this method of procedure. The idea of the Citizenship Club movement came to the writer during a hot sleepless night in an upper berth on a Texas train. The plan was matured in consultation with friends in Boston. The manuscript of the book was finished in San Francisco. On the open road in all sections of the country I discussed the plan with public assemblies for the express purpose of consulting the people. Many elements both of the plan and the book are due to their conscious and unconscious suggestions. All that the writer did was to recognize the value of suggestions, when he met them, and to improve and organize them with what skill he could. But the book is the joint product of the people and the author. It is in fact "our" book.

The Citizenship Club movement proposes a new, and it is believed a better, method of doing Americanization work. It also suggests that we should drop the old term and use instead a term which says what it means. It is hoped that this movement will hasten the discovery that Americanization does not consist in teaching English, that the dishonest and superficial use of the word has murdered it, and that the word either should be

redeemed or else replaced by the term "training for citizenship," which clearly suggests something definite, and something needed alike by the native born and the resident alien. The Citizenship Club movement aims to describe the American way of doing Americanization work.

This book was originally prepared to be issued as a Government document, to meet a need which the Bureau of Education long ago recognized and hoped it might be able to meet. But it soon became evident that the Bureau of Education did not have the facilities necessary to promote the movement. Nor did it have available funds needed to secure a first-class artist to cut the die for America's Coat of Arms. We are, therefore, compelled to depend on a non-Governmental agency to furnish the book and medal, and to handle the large amount of business detail involved in dealing with a territory as large as the United States.

The movement, therefore, will be launched and promoted by the National Community Board, an agency organized to promote throughout the Nation the establishment of Community Centers such as described in the official bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Education. The Board has planned seven departments of work to serve local communities.

Through its department of Citizenship Training, the Board offers to the nation the Citizenship Club as a typical Community Center activity. The Board has selected, as the official organ of the move-

ment, *The Open Road Magazine,* which will stimulate its growth, report its progress, and assist in its development.

While the Government should be the ideal agency to conduct an enterprise like this, and while the Bureau of Education, to the extent of its ability, will stimulate the organization of Citizenship Clubs as a part of its regular Community Center * work, yet it must depend on volunteer agencies to promote the movement, until the Congress makes more adequate appropriations for such work. The Congress no doubt some day will support the work of Community Organization in a manner befitting its national importance. It is one of the curious ironies of experience, that when any great cause grows beyond the need of help, it gets more help than it needs. Blessed is he who has the foresight to support a good cause in its pioneer period, for he has the merit of seeing what is not obvious to all. In the meantime the cause of community organization is too vital to human welfare to wait upon Congressional action. "We, the people," will do it ourselves. Perhaps it is better so.

The plan of training for citizenship here proposed combines theory and practice, about one-fourth theory and three-fourths practice. Any such course which aims, as this one does, to stress the principle of learning by doing, and which attempts to be honest enough to treat things as they are, should

* See Postscript.

obviously include preparation for those activities, to which citizens devote almost their entire time, and on which the national well-being chiefly depends.

When stated as a general principle, this seems to be axiomatically true. What would it mean, if stated in concrete terms? Among other things, this: young men and women cannot be said to be prepared for citizenship, unless they are equipped for some productive work, which will furnish both a livelihood and personal development, and also equipped with the ability not only to own a house but to build a home. Such activities as work and marriage will occupy more of their time and thought than all others put together. Unless they are equipped for these high tasks, how can they be good citizens?

When Lincoln was asked, "how long a man's legs ought to be"; he answered, "long enough to reach the ground." If courses of citizenship training are to be of real value, they should assist young people to keep their feet on the ground in touch with the realities of life. Therefore, while the present volume treats the more obvious and less complex political activities, it is planned to add to the series other volumes, which will treat such subjects as work and marriage. The usefulness of young men and women as citizens requires that they be properly related to their work, on which their personal happiness depends, and properly related to the in-

stitution of the family, on which the national welfare depends.

The Citizenship Club movement is inspired by the conviction that patriotism, like religion, should be liberated from the fatal blight put upon it by regarding it as a separate business set up apart from other activities. It will assist in the difficult attempt to relate patriotism to the common, but not commonplace, tasks of the day. More than a half-century ago Professor Turner of Illinois was the prophet of a big idea, which helped to establish a new type of public education in America. He said: "The most natural and effectual mental discipline possible for any man arises from setting him to earnest and constant thought about the things he daily does, sees, and handles and all their connected relations and interests." The author of this volume desires to do all he can to enlarge the application of this formative principle and apply it to patriotism, to the end that training in citizenship may cease to be a detached and artificial process and become a productive process related to nation-building activities. To this enterprise the Citizenship Club movement is dedicated.

HENRY E. JACKSON

*June* 1, 1920

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# PART I

# CITIZENSHIP CLUBS

"To you from failing hands we throw
The Torch; be yours to hold it high!"

—Lieut. Col. McCrae

THE REVERSE SIDE OF OUR NATIONAL COAT OF ARMS,
FOR WHICH NO USE HAS EVER BEEN FOUND UNTIL NOW

: hands we throw
.. to hold it high!"

— Lieut. Col. McCrae

**THE REVERSE SIDE OF OUR NATIONAL COAT OF ARMS, FOR WHICH NO USE HAS EVER BEEN FOUND UNTIL NOW**

# *What America Means To Me*

## PART I

## CITIZENSHIP CLUBS

### THE COMING PEOPLE

"You are the Spring of our year," said Pericles to the young men of Athens. He was statesman enough to understand that the future welfare of a nation at any time depends on the opinions of its young men and women, who are under twenty-one years of age. They are the coming people. Therefore, what? The conclusion is not only obvious, but glares by its persistent importance. A responsibility so big as this ought never to be undertaken, without conscious and careful preparation for meeting it.

### CITIZENSHIP, AN ACHIEVEMENT

We have assumed citizenship as a birth-right. It is not the kind of thing to be assumed; it is the kind of thing to be achieved. Free manhood suffrage has been bought at the price of blood through a long arduous struggle. The experience of men in the mass must be repeated in that of individuals, who make up the mass. While all

native residents are citizens by birth, they are not all citizens by nature. Real citizenship is not a dower, but an achievement; not an act but a process.

Like freedom, it cannot be a gift from one man to another. Moses did not free a race of workingmen in Egypt; he gave them a chance to make themselves free. Lincoln did not free the negro race in America; he gave them a chance to make themselves free. Citizenship can be achieved only by personal effort and retained only by the practice of it. "What thou hast inherited from the fathers, labor for in order to possess it," said the wise Goethe.

The necessity for training through organized self-help and mutual service is paramount. How shall it be done? The plan here proposed is that all the young men and women in each local community, who are about twenty years of age, undertake the self-recognized task by organizing themselves into a Citizenship Club, and, that one year previous to their entrance into full citizenship, they pursue a definite course of citizenship training, guided in the process by a volunteer leader.

### IDEALISM AND ACTION

In order to be effective for its purpose, the proposed course of training should consist of two distinct activities, not separate but riveted together. It should embrace both theory and practice, neither one alone, but both together, not idealism and not action, but idealism in action.

Training for citizenship naturally suggests a study of the ideals for which America stands. It must also include the practice of citizenship, because the effective way to learn anything is by doing it. The charm of war for young men is due to three factors which have a permanent and universal significance. First, a young man in war does not shoulder a rifle and go off alone to fight the enemy, he goes in companies. It is concerted action with his fellows which satisfies his gregarious instinct. Second, it is service in behalf of a cause, either good or supposed to be, which is bigger than his own personal interest. A big national motive satisfies his instinct of admiration for unselfish idealism. Third, it furnishes a means of recreation and a way of escape from the routine of standardized life and from the monotonous grind of modern industry. It appeals to an instinctive desire for initiative and self-expression.

Any plan for enlisting young men and women as soldiers of the common good must include these three organizing ideas: the chance to do concerted work in coöperation with others, and the adventurous spirit of sacrificial service for an unselfish cause, and the irrepressible instinct for self-directed activity. An instinct if ungratified will atrophy, and the plan here suggested is intended to utilize the adventurous altruism of youth for the constructive purpose of peace.

It is of capital importance that these three

instincts be harnessed for the nation's service in time of peace, for the barbarous custom of settling disputes by an appeal to brute force can be destroyed only by substituting for it a more excellent way. A permanently vital need of any nation is for a workable plan to utilize constructively these natural and noble instincts of her youth in behalf of worthy aspirations.

A door of opportunity for the exercise of these instincts stands open in every local community and it is here suggested that a Citizenship Club undertake in concert, as part of its year's training, to render a concrete piece of public service for its community. The choice of the kinds of service possible for them to render and how to make the choice will be considered presently, but first it is necessary to consider the study of ideals, for it is useless to try to go anywhere, unless we first determine where it is we want to go.

### WRITE YOUR OWN BOOK

In the study of America's ideals by a Citizenship Club, a book is obviously needed. What shall it be? The writer knows of no book suitable for this purpose. What shall we do? Let us prepare the book ourselves. For any one person to write such a book would be a difficult, if not an impossible, task.

It is, therefore, suggested that the people prepare their own book. If they do, it will not only

be a better book for the purpose, but the most valuable part of the training in the proposed course of study will come from this process of self-expression. We always succeed best in clarifying a subject to ourselves, when we attempt to express it to others. So constructed, it will literally be a book of the people, by the people and for the people.

At first sight it may seem like a new and surprising suggestion that the people make their own book. It will not be as perfect or as scholastic or as artistic, as if it were prepared by an expert. But it will be a better book for our purpose because of the training furnished by the process of preparing it. The reason why so many educational schemes have produced so little result is because they are dogmatic impositions of cut and dried plans. The plan here suggested consciously seeks to avoid this error. While it clearly states the goal aimed at, it provides a large degree of freedom and initiative in the choice of roads leading to it. It is organized on the principle that education is a process of self-activity. In dealing with a liberty-loving people like Americans, no plan of citizenship training is acceptable, if it is super-imposed from without. It must be indigenous to the soil. To forget this fact is fatal. Our aim, let it be remembered, is not the writing of a book, but the training of young men and women for citizenship. The book is a by-product.

The writer undertakes merely to be the editor,

and will suggest its name and the plan of its construction. The name he suggests, which best states its purpose and describes its content is "What America Means to Me." Emphasis on the last word of the title. For our purpose is to stimulate all young men and women, before they assume the responsibility of citizenship, to make for themselves a clear answer to this question. Indeed every member of America should attempt to write an article or a book on this subject, or coöperate with others in doing so, because of the profoundly personal significance of the subject. It is the kind of question each must answer for himself. The writer suggests that the book ought to contain three distinctive parts, which are organically related to each other.

### AMERICA'S MISSION

Part One obviously should be, "What are America's Ideals"? It should consist of clear statements concerning our nation's mission, its purpose, its ideal aims, what it seeks to achieve for human welfare. Almost every nation at its birth consciously or unconsciously has adopted some big formative principle, which shaped its organization, influenced the nature of its various activities, and determined the worth of its contribution to progress. In Palestine it was religion; in Greece it was culture; in Rome it was law.

In America it was, what? It is essential not only

that an answer to this question be made, but that the answer take a great variety of forms, so that it may be clearly understood by all. Unless present and future citizens clearly understand America's dominant purpose, they cannot coöperate effectively to achieve it and much of their effort will be labor lost.

Moreover, America's ideal needs to be re-defined and re-stated continuously, because it is in the process of constant change. The ideal with which the nation started is not its ideal today. One hundred and twenty-five years ago, it included such elements as human slavery, the denial of manhood suffrage, property and religious qualifications for voting, indentured servants and class privileges. The nation's ideal today contains elements, which will be eliminated as we grow towards better ethical standards. As soon as a nation's ideal becomes fixed it becomes false. Living ethical ideals always move on as we approach them.

It is, therefore, suggested that Citizenship Clubs, as part of their year's training for citizenship, undertake a search for a number of the best, briefest and clearest statements of America's ideals, that the search be made not only among the writings of the nation's conspicuous leaders, but also the writings of its inconspicuous citizens, and that members of the club be encouraged to write their own statements; that these be kept on file for the club's future use; that a member of the club, when

he submits such a statement be prepared to discuss it and to defend it against criticism; that when a statement is discovered, which the club decides has special merit, a good typewritten copy of it be sent to the writer, at the Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C. From these he will select some to be issued in occasional bulletins and sent to all Citizenship Clubs for use in their training course. Thus they will serve each other in the common enterprise and use their Government as their agent in the process.

It is also suggested that discussion in a Citizenship Club be conducted according to the rules for orderly parliamentary debate. The employment of the Open Forum principle, as a method of self-education, will yield a by-product of the highest personal value to the members and will constitute an essential part of the training for citizenship in self-governing communities.

Another by-product of equal importance will be a better knowledge of American history. In general it can be said truthfully that among all classes there is woeful ignorance of our own history. If one should go to a group of average young men and women and say: "You are distressingly ignorant of your nation's history. Here are six good books. Please read them," his effort in most cases would yield just about no result at all. But if he goes to the same group of young people with an inspiring practical objective, such as is here proposed, and

asks them to do a definite service for their Government in its efforts to meet a vital public need, they will incidentally read a large number of books without conscious effort and with increasing joy. They now see a present practical reason why they should read the history. After all, are not these young people right? Is there any good reason, aside from curiosity, why they should inform themselves about the doings of men three or four hundred years ago, unless what these men did has some significance for the present business of living? Is not this the real use of history?

### AN INVENTORY OF AMERICA

If a study of the nation's ideals is to have any practical value, Part Two of our book ought to be called: "How Much Are They Practiced?" The next task of a Club is to prepare an inventory of America, to make a list of its assets and liabilities, to determine how many of our ideals we have put into operation or how many applications of our dominant ideal we have made, what distinguishing achievements are there, which we can be proud of and rejoice over. Side by side with the assets should be placed a list of our liabilities, those respects in which we have fallen down, the number of ideals which we have failed to practice, the applications of our dominant aim which we have not yet succeeded in making.

This process requires that Part Two consist of

two sets of parallel statements, one on America's achievements and one on her failures. These statements, for example, will be on such subjects as the following:

| *Assets* | *Liabilities* |
|---|---|
| 1. Making the middle class the dominant and only class without an internal revolution. | 1. Unjust treatment of immigrants. |
| 2. Universal opportunity for free popular education. | 2. Failure of Representative Government to represent all the people. |
| 3. The most successful experiment in Federated Representative Government for a longer period of time than has as yet been made. | 3. Lack of a free press. |
| 4. Entrance into a World War with the declared purpose of securing no material advantage but solely to serve the ideals of democracy. | 4. Lack of a free pulpit. |
| | 5. Failure to apply democracy to industry. |
| | 6. Failure to democratize credit. |
| | 7. Failure to employ a just system of taxation. |

It is, of course, obvious that there will be a great divergence of opinion as to what constitutes the nation's assets and liabilities. There will be groups of men among whom it will be always impossible to secure agreement on any such "bill of particulars." But the suggestion here made is that those items be selected for treatment, about which there is manifestly a general agreement among the majority of citizens. In a country like America it ought not

to be a difficult task. If it should be discovered to be impossible to make such a list of the nation's assets and liabilities, it is high time that this fact become known. Such a negative result would be a decided and positive contribution to the nation's welfare.

In determining the items to be included in such a list our guiding principle should be to give first place to moral and spiritual assets, and include material assets only in so far as they have a meaning for our main purpose. It is simple and easy enough to set down the number of miles of railroad built, or number of tons of coal mined or the amount of gold produced. These material facts may or may not have a helpful significance. It is true that the adventures of the nation's pioneers both exhibited and developed heroic and spiritual qualities, which constitute an inspiring national tradition. But the significant question is the use which is made of the resources they opened up. This is not a study of mechanical efficiency but of social efficiency. It is a study of America as a society. The test of any nation, viewed as a society, is the opportunity it gives the average man and his ability to appreciate it. The nation's assets and liabilities, therefore, ought to be stated in terms of human welfare. Bigness is not greatness. Miles of railroads and tons of coal are not measures of civilization; men and women are.

A true standard for a study of the nation's real

values was well stated by Professor Huxley in his message to the nation, delivered in our Centennial Anniversary year, at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. He said:

"To an Englishman landing on your shores for the first time, traveling for hundreds of miles through strings of great and well-ordered cities, seeing your enormous actual, and almost infinite potential wealth in all commodities, and in the energy and ability which turns wealth to account, there is something sublime in the vista of the future. Do not suppose that I am pandering to what is commonly understood by national pride. I cannot say that I am in the slighest degree impressed by your bigness, or your material resources, as such. Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation. The great issue about which hangs a true sublimity, and the terror of over-hanging fate, is what are you going to do with all these things? What is to be the end to which these are to be the means?"

The study of America as a society is a new field of inquiry at once helpful and fascinating. Why such an inspiring study should have been neglected so long is somewhat puzzling. For this neglect there is no justification, but there is a sufficient reason, into which it is unnecessary here to enter. It is refreshing to notice that some students of America are beginning to recognize that at least there is such a field of study and that it is of paramount importance.

The editors of "American Ideals," * after making a wise selection of our political documents, make this significant remark about them: "One cannot but confess that these expressions of the ideals that have guided us in the past and are animating our action in the present are somewhat deficient in clarity of purpose. Emerson said that 'America is another word for opportunity,' and the phrase has often been repeated — but who inquires, 'Opportunity for what?' There is another sentence of Emerson's that is even more deserving of repetition: 'It is not free institutions, it is not a republic, it is not a democracy, that is the end, — no, but only the means.' If Emerson is right, what is the end — what, at bottom, has the American tradition as its goal?"

The purpose of a Citizenship Club, in the study of America as a society, is to inquire how the society is promoting the welfare of its members with reference to their "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness," and to assist each local cross-section of America to transform itself into a society, whose chief aim is the welfare of its members.

If a study of the nation's achievements and failures is to have any real value, the one indispensable requirement is that we be entirely candid and honest. Honesty may be a disturbing policy, but it is the safe one. Only the stupid or the wilfully blind would maintain the position that America had made no failures. Only the enemies of progress would

* By Foerster and Pierson

insist that these failures ought not to be freely acknowledged. For if America is already perfect, there is nothing left for the young men and women to do, when they come into full citizenship. It is the inspiration of the imperfect which will stimulate them to undertake their new task with intelligence and enthusiasm. Honesty and patriotism demand that we acquire the habit of seeing things as they are. Not to try to do so is immoral. The only way to overcome difficulties is first of all to clearly see them.

There never has been a time more than now, when it is so essential that all nations make an honest inventory of their assets and liabilities. They are now forming a Society of Nations. They will want to have a worthy standing in this Society. When they apply for membership in it a compulsory inventory of their qualifications will be made in the World Court of public opinion. It would be less embarrassing if each nation began to make a voluntary inventory of itself, to indicate its honest desire to increase its assets and raise its standing among its fellow member-nations.

It may be safely assumed, therefore, that we are agreed that the attempt to set forth honestly the nation's failures should never be made for the sake of negative criticism. No one believes in diagnosis for the sake of diagnosis, any more than, as Chesterton says, a man believes in amputating for the sake of amputating. The purpose of diagnosis is

to discover what is wrong with the patient for the sake of removing his trouble. An honest inventory of any community's assets and liabilities is the necessary basis for a constructive program of action.

### THE PRACTICE OF CITIZENSHIP

A study of America's ideals and her departures from them or failure to operate them, will naturally lead any member of a Citizenship Club to ask: "How can I help realize them?" This ought to be the title of Part Three of our book.

It is, therefore, suggested that the members of a Citizenship Club ought to select as part of their year's training, some definite piece of service for their community's welfare, which they can render in concert. The nature of this service must be determined by the needs of each community. A detailed programme for all communities, of course, would be impossible, because they differ so widely. There will be no difficulty in discovering what to do, provided there is courage and honesty enough to look at things as they are. The only difficulty will be to decide what to undertake first. The writer is of the opinion that he can go into any average community and after a study of twenty-four hours suggest a programme of action to its citizens, which will occupy them for five years.

There are certain kinds of activities essential to training for citizenship in all communities alike.

Young men and women ought to equip themselves with information on the use of the voting machinery and how the voting process may be improved; with information on the structure and operation of their town, county, state and federal governments; with information on world politics and the organization of international relations in which their country is vitally concerned, and in which they may be called at any time to play a part even to the laying down of their lives, as in the recent World War. If all this machinery is to be used for worthy purposes, citizens must know how to use it. It is because the use that is made of it may affect a nation profoundly either for good or evil, that a knowledge of its use is so essential.

In addition to these general activities in citizenship training it is suggested that a definite task* be undertaken to meet some particular need of each community. To furnish interesting material for this part of our book, Citizenship Clubs are requested to send the editor a description of the practical activities they undertake in order that clubs may pool their experiences and stimulate each other in a friendly rivalry to serve the common welfare. One of the first and obvious services which young men and women in all communities alike can render is to agree to meet together for one year of hard training for citizenship. If the youth of all classes, who are twenty years old, would meet for this purpose, this act would exhibit our democratic ideal in

* See Part III.

operation and create a community morale, which is the key to concerted action in any practical enterprise.

### AMERICANIZE YOURSELF

Does this proposed plan mean that all the young men and women of a community, both native-born and resident alien, shall take the same course of training together? Certainly. Why not? Are they not to be citizens of the same country? America's only original residents are Indians. All the rest of us are resident aliens. Immigrants ought to have a fellow feeling for each other, the earlier for the later comers. To create and operate such an attitude is the key to success in any attempt at Americanization. We study the works of Michael Angelo in our art clubs and colleges, but to sustain a neighborly relationship to his fellow countrymen on the next street is a highly embarrassing process. We sing the songs of David in our churches, but to treat with courtesy his fellow countrymen, who venture into our public assemblies, is an acid test of our sincerity, which we find it difficult to endure.

Citizenship means no more or less than membership in America. If the older members agree to receive later comers into membership and then refuse to treat them like members, they are hypocrites. They make a complete divorce between their theory and practice. They are living a lie,

which cuts to the quick the feelings of any self-respecting man. Is it surprising, therefore, that their patronizing or forceful attempts to do something *for* aliens instead of *with* them should so frequently be futile or resented?

After the above passage was written, the writer was thrilled to discover that the suggestion made in it has been put into operation and its value demonstrated with telling effect. It has been done in the new educational section of the army camps, recently inaugurated, and destined to become a real People's University of untold value to the nation. The non-English speaking aliens and the illiterate Americans are trained in the same class. Within the short space of six months these boys are able to write letters, read the newspapers and make an effective public address. In the process they discovered that racial and national distinctions are superficial, and that the platform of intelligence and common human need is the big American idea.

So strikingly beautiful are the results achieved, that four teams of these young men have been selected from Camp Upton and formed into "Americans All" squads. They will be sent by the army on a chautauqua tour during the summer to tell their story. In order to placard before the eye the central fact about them, I quote the names of the "Third Squad." They comprise six nationalities, but they are Americans all. Their names are significant.

Sergt. Karl A. Pettersson, Sweden.
Corp. Jerry Little, Kentucky.
Prvt. Graham Allen, North Carolina.
Prvt. Ljobomir Antonijevich, Serbia.
Corp. Nicholas Zorg, Greece.
Sergt. Harry T. Huffman, South Carolina.
Prvt. Rudolph Dziedzinski, Poland.
Prvt. George Seleno, Spain.

Those who have heard the story of these young men from their own lips, will understand how difficult it is to hear it with dry eyes. It makes one feel that America is operating, and so long as this process continues the country's future is safe. The suggestion here made, therefore, is not only a beautiful ideal, but also an actual fact. What has been done in army camps can be done in other communities in any stage of mental development. If our boys can fight for democracy in France, can they not also go to school for democracy in America?

Our hope lies in American youth. Young people are natural democrats and have generous impulses. For the success of American ideals it is a significant fact that it is not to the cautious calculating men of experience, but to the vision-seeing chivalrous youth, who have not yet exchanged their ideals for their comforts, that the great moral movements of history owe their greatest debt. If young men and women will refuse to permit themselves to be cor-

rupted by the artificial standards of adults, they can lead the way to a solution of one of our serious national problems.

It is in order to keep the suggestion of this ideal before them, that a tri-band circle is placed on the cover of this book. It is the proposed symbol of the Community Center Movement. It is made up of the national colors, to suggest that work conducted on the community basis is distinctly a national service, for then America is put into operation. The colors are arranged in a circle to suggest that this service can best be rendered when one's sympathies and activities are limited only by a non-exclusive circle, which embraces the entire community. It is the effective way, by which the enemies of America may be outwitted, as Edwin Markham suggests:

"He drew a circle that shut me out,
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout;
But Love and I had the wit to win,
We drew a circle that took him in."

### HONEST AMERICANIZATION

If Americanization work is not to be merely a patronizing piece of charity work or an act of self-protection, undertaken through fear and operated through force, it must be conducted on a new and different policy than that which has guided most of it hitherto. The fact is that the term "Americanization," now carries such a complexity of con-

flicting meanings, that it has become a handicap to the cause it represents. The word has been so misused that some communities have begun to abandon its use altogether.

This is well. For aside from the false and harmful methods, which have given the word an unworthy content and significance, the term itself carries with it a suggestion of egotism, which cripples the aim it seeks to serve. It suggests an attitude, which many workers in this field have exemplified, an attitude which, if expressed in words, would lead native Americans to say to resident aliens, "Look at us, we are perfect, we want you to be like us. If you do not voluntarily try to make yourselves be like us, we will compel you to do so." To practice this policy is not only dishonest but futile. Emerson once said to a father, "You are trying to make your son to be another you. Don't, one's enough."

If instead of expressing this dogmatic and egotistical attitude, we should say to resident aliens, "We lay no claim to perfection ourselves. But our country is dedicated to ideals, embodied in our Declaration of Independence and the Sermon on the Mount, which we sincerely believe are vitally important not only to us, but to the welfare of all mankind. We frankly confess that we have not yet attained them. We invite you to join us that we together may strive to understand them and put them into operation."

The affirmative and hearty response to such an attitude is a foregone conclusion. It is honest and real Americanization. It is a frank acknowledgment of what is quite obvious to intelligent resident aliens, that native Americans need Americanization quite as much as they do. Some of them need it more. It is vastly easier to teach English to resident aliens, who want it, than to teach social sympathy to native Americans who do not want it. It would be a decided gain, if we disregarded the indefinite and partly-false term "Americanization," and substituted for it the term, "Training for Citizenship," which definitely states what the resident alien and native born both need more or less, and which in any case is a paramount need of both classes.

The reason why effective Americanization work must be done by contagion rather than by teaching was stated by President Wilson, with his usual clear insight, when he said:

"My interest in this movement is as much an interest in ourselves as in those whom we are trying to Americanize, because if we are genuine Americans they cannot avoid the infection; whereas, if we are not genuine Americans, there will be nothing to infect them with, and no amount of teaching, no amount of exposition of the Constitution — which I find very few persons understand — no amount of dwelling upon the idea of liberty and of justice will accomplish the object we have in view, unless we

ourselves illustrate the idea of justice and of liberty."

### PUT YOURSELF IN HIS PLACE

It is obvious that Americanization, as soon as it is stated in terms of citizenship, means vastly more than teaching English to resident aliens. To teach them our language is only a detail in the process. It is an important detail, for a blind man can see that there must be a means of communication among citizens of the same country. But it is only a detail nevertheless. To understand and practice the ideals of the Declaration of Independence is our goal. The main highway, which leads to this goal, was well stated centuries ago, in a by-law of the Hebrew Republic.

It says: "Love ye, therefore, the resident alien for ye were resident aliens in the land of Egypt." This law does not say; teach them the language of the land; — this is assumed as obviously necessary. It says; make love the principle of action, establish free trade in friendship, sit by their side, put yourself in their place, extend to them the right hand of fellowship, make them feel that they belong. This is a language all can readily understand without any help from the rules of grammar. For the lack of a better word we may call this psychological principle *social* sympathy. The meaning of this term is clearly indicated by John Dewey, when he says; "The chief constituent of social efficiency is intelli-

gent sympathy or good will. For sympathy, as a desirable quality, is something more than mere feeling. It is a cultivated imagination for what men have in common and a rebellion at whatever unnecessarily divides them." It will be nothing short of a new and vital discovery when we perceive with Dewey that this quality is the *chief constituent* of social efficiency. It is the inescapable necessity for successful work with resident aliens as with anybody else. Without it all our efforts will be like drawing a harrow over frozen ground. This principle is so simple and essential that it would not need to be stated were it not for the fact that we are constantly stumbling over it without seeing it. Indeed it is only too probable that it will constitute the chief stumbling block in the way of Citizenship Clubs.

Because this is a key principle to their success and because the obvious is always the last thing to be discovered, I quote a forceful statement of it from an American magazine:

"Nor will compulsory 'education' in the English language and in American political and social ideas have any valuable effect. For loyalty was never the harvest of compulsion. A man may wear a prison garb for years without acquiring a taste for stripes.

"The only way to make a man an American is to receive him as one. No man can be a loyal member of a society to which he does not belong. The road

to membership is through participation. Take the newcomer on the committee, elect his wife a member of the mothers' club, get him to help the agitation for a local playground. He will learn more in one week of service as a citizen than in twenty years of being told about it. Bring on your English lessons. You will find that he will eat them up and come back for more.

"Americanization is not merely a matter of language or of information upon a form of government. It is a matter of receiving the spirit of a nation into the soul. And the human soul cannot be burglarized: we must find the combination. That combination will read something like 'justice, participation, mutual respect.' "

### EVERYBODY'S DOING IT

As soon as we acquire an open mind and a friendly spirit and when as a consequence we discover, that all are in need of some sort of special preparation for citizenship, we will also discover that we have removed the chief obstacle in the way of successful work with resident aliens and native illiterates. They are extremely sensitive about their handicapped condition. When we segregate them in classes by themselves, we make them still more conscious and sensitive. They begin to feel like defectives and they lose their self-respect. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that they have here-

tofore so frequently refused to respond to such pointed missionary efforts. These charity methods have been well-intentioned, but mistaken. They have disregarded the psychology of human nature.

If on the contrary we should say to these backward classes, "we are all engaged in the same enterprise of training ourselves for citizenship. Everybody's doing it. Each one is equipping himself with the thing he most needs. If you happen not to know how to read and write our language, that of course is a necessary preliminary and a means to the end we all have in common. You ought to acquire it as quickly as possible so that you can join us in other and more important kinds of preparation. But while you are acquiring it, we, like you, are seeking to acquire something else, which we need just as you need the language."

To approach the task of Americanization in this spirit of genuine appreciation of the other man's need, is a guarantee of success in the attempt to serve him. It recognizes the fact that we are gregarious animals. No man likes to be put into a class by himself. It recognizes the fact that the differences among us are differences not of kind but of degree. This is the exact truth of the matter and honesty is the winning policy in all social enterprises.

The central fact which demands frank recognition is that an unlettered man may be a very able man and worthy of our highest regard. This sentiment

never found expression in literature till Gray wrote his "Elegy written in a Country Church Yard," but it needs reiterated emphasis, because it is one of the great commonplaces, always admired and always neglected. The chief and the indispensable equipment for successful work with resident aliens and native illiterates is a knowledge of Gray's "Elegy," and the acceptance of its formative idea as a working attitude.

### THE ROAD TO FAILURE

If Americanization work should be based on the common needs of all for training in citizenship, it at once becomes evident that this principle rules out a method now in general practice and explains why this method fails in its aim. It means that no employer as such ought to conduct any Americanization work directly with his employees. The employer who attempts it may have a good motive, but his judgment is bad. His effort is based on the principle of Feudalism. It is un-American and is fore-doomed to failure.

The writer is not forgetful of the fact that there are a few exceptional employers, who place the public interest above their private profit and who are achieving notable results in assisting their employees to become better citizens. But they are the exceptions, which prove the rule.

In general the principle holds true that an employer is in no position to undertake any work of

this kind. The relationship existing between him and his men disqualifies him for the task. The relationship is frequently one of open warfare. It may become such at any time. At the best it is one of armed neutrality. The men are suspicious of him. They think his aim is to make money out of them. They interpret his attempt to educate them as an effort to make them more efficient workers in order to exploit them the more. So long as the present organization of modern industry continues to exist, this attitude of mutual suspicion will naturally continue. It is a perfectly logical product of the system in operation.

At any rate such is the fact, and nothing is so convincing as a fact. Large amounts of money are being spent by factories for "welfare" work and every kind of device is used to stimulate a response to their efforts. It is mostly money wasted and labor lost. The response is meager and painfully unsatisfactory. A large eastern city appropriated a hundred thousand dollars for Americanization work and planned to open night schools. Those in charge of the work sent announcements of the plan through the pay envelopes of the men invited to attend. The night the schools opened, almost none of the men attended. It was a dismal failure, and those in charge of the work wondered why. Their plan of operation was in open violation of the principle here stated. The result was unexpected, but not at all surprising.

Many employers are impractical enough to continue to waste their money and make no attempt to discover the reason for the failure of their efforts — a discovery they could easily make by asking the men. But there are some employers who have begun to understand and who frankly confess that this is the kind of work which their position prevents them from conducting with any degree of success. They have begun to see and say that it must be done by some outside independent agency.

To discover this is a decisive step towards progress. It is quite as important to know how not to do a thing as to know how to do it, and often it is the first thing necessary to know. This discovery recognizes the fact that Americanization means not the making of an efficient workman but a better citizen. A good citizen is something other and different and bigger than an efficient worker. A good citizen will be a good workman, but efficiency in work must be a by-product, not the chief and exclusive product. When we have learned to put first things first, and second things second, and to put the public above the private interest, we have ceased to travel the road to failure. If then this work can be done successfully not through a private but a public agency, what shall it be?

### THE ROAD TO SUCCESS

It seems obvious that the agency which ought to conduct Americanization work is America. But

usually the obvious is the last thing to be discovered. By America we mean the public, the people as a whole, the community, using any agency which represents all the people and not a part of them.

For this reason the best agency through which to do Americanization work, or rather train for citizenship, is a Community Center, that is, an association of all the citizens using the schoolhouse as the community capitol. It is our one democratic institution. It is non-partisan, non-sectarian, and non-exclusive. It is owned and supported by all the people and, therefore, furnishes a place where all the people can meet on terms of self-respect. It is the people's meeting-house, the community's home.

It is, therefore, suggested that a Citizenship Club ought to be conducted as an activity of the Community Center. The nature of the objective is such that it logically requires the work to be organized on a citizenship basis. If a local district does not have in operation a Community Center, it ought to proceed to organize one. If it should start a Citizenship Club, it is probable that the club would naturally expand into a Community Center. It needs to be kept clearly in mind that this is a citizenship enterprise and should be conducted on a public basis.

When it is understood that Americanization work ought to be done not through private but public

agencies, this ought not to mean that an employer should cease to contribute largely to its support. Instead of spending money to do the work in his factory, he should give the money to a public agency like the Community Center. It would require only half the amount and produce twice as much result, if the money should be expended in this way. Moreover, the contribution should be made not as a gift of charity but as an act of justice, with no strings attached to it. The employer, when he imports large numbers of foreign and negro laborers into a community, imposes on the community a large additional expense in the schools, the hospitals and the courts. Employers ought in fairness to pay their just share of the expenses for which they are responsible. If they sincerely desire their workmen to become better citizens, as well as better workmen, they will not insist on doing Americanization work after the manner of feudal lords, which leads to failure, as history demonstrates it always has done, but be willing to have it done in the American way, which is a guarantee of success.

The plan of citizenship training through Citizenship Clubs here suggested is primarily designed for young men and women who are about twenty years of age, organized on a community basis, and using the schoolhouse for their activities. This is earnestly recommended as the simple, direct and ideal plan of procedure, calculated to produce the best results. Nevertheless, there may be in many

communities smaller groups of young people, already associated as in a church or other institution, who could make an effective use of the plan.

Moreover, there are other groups of people to whom the plan will be of service. High school students in their Civics and History departments could use the plan to real advantage. It would supplement their regular Civics and History courses and give to them a practical and concrete application. It furnishes just what they need for their home work in these studies.

Before this book comes from the press, the women undoubtedly will have acquired the franchise. In all parts of the country they have an earnest and commendable desire to fit themselves for their new duties as citizens. The Citizenship Club plan of training is commended to them as suited to accomplish their purpose. It is equally adaptable to the needs both of adults and youths.

The degree of development is so various that in many communities it will be found necessary to grade Citizenship Clubs. For effective work young men and women will need to be organized in clubs according to their stage of development. But the same plan can be used by all. Its distinguishing characteristic is that it is at once simple and profound. The results obtained in any case will be whatever the members are capable of making them. The plan is simple enough for the immature and the mature cannot exhaust it.

### UNIVERSAL CITIZEN TRAINING

A little thought makes it increasingly apparent that the need of training for citizenship in a country like ours is universal and that it is an unending process. Even the young men engaged in military training need it. Indeed they need it more than any other class. The essence of the military theory is obedience to a person. The essence of democratic theory is obedience to law. The citizen is certain to be lost in the soldier, therefore, unless he is given the chance for training in citizenship.

It is most gratifying to know that the plans for the new volunteer army include not only courses in special vocational subjects, and courses in general cultural studies, but also courses in definite training for citizenship. The aim is to fit these young men for civilian life, when their period of military training is completed. To those in charge of devising these courses of study, the plan here suggested is earnestly commended. It is hoped that the entire volunteer army will be organized into graded Citizenship Clubs so that side by side with compulsory military discipline, the young men may have a degree of freedom for self-development. "The walls of Sparta are built of Spartans," sang an old poet. Likewise the walls of America are built of Americans. It may have been possible to make Spartans by the arbitrary method of running them all into the same mould. Americans cannot so be made.

An American is not that kind of a product. The proposed course of training here suggested is built on the democratic plan of self-activity by which young men are given the chance to make Americans out of themselves, which is the only way Americans can be made.

Even for the sake of making efficient soldiers, training in citizenship is indispensable. In a democratic country like America, no man can be a good soldier who is not also a good citizen. Military discipline alone produces an automaton, and an automaton never is a good soldier. An intelligent sympathy with American ideals is the chief equipment of an American soldier. A man will fight well for what he knows and loves. The morale which inspired our soldiers in the World War was their love of liberty. For this reason the technically trained soldiers of Germany were no match for American soldiers with half the training. For the same reason during our Revolutionary War the professional soldiers of Europe could not stand up against the liberty-loving but poorly-trained American farmer boys. Napoleon was statesman enough to perceive that, "Morale is to force as three is to one."

When it was proposed in the British Parliament to send to the American Colonies new supplies of guns and ammunition, as the thing needed to secure victory, William Pitt arose and made the illuminating remark: "We must reckon not so much on the number and quality of our guns as on the senti-

ment for liberty in the hearts of American Soldiers." The spirit in their hearts was the decisive factor in the fortunes of the war. To acquire an understanding of America's ideals and a devotion to them is a spiritual process, not a military exercise, and to secure the desired result, it must be conducted on some such democratic plan as that here suggested for the use of Citizenship Clubs.

The truth of the principle here contended for was demonstrated in dramatic fashion in the experience of our soldiers in France. If they wish to turn their experience to good account in behalf of the nation's future welfare, and if the American Legion would avoid the fatal mistake of living wholly on the memory of the past, it could achieve these results in no better way than by making their organization a School of Citizenship and help to father the movement of citizenship training for all young men and women through Citizenship Clubs. The memory of a great past is the inspiration of a great present. The past achievement of members of the American Legion puts them in a position to render conspicuous service in the present and it has inspired them to do so. If the awakened desires and generous inspirations with which they have returned to America are not to atrophy and die, they must find expression in concrete form. The task of universal citizen training and real Americanization for all is suggested as the most practical and the most fitting way in which their

aspirations may be harnessed for the Nation's service in meeting its greatest need.

### THE COMMUNITY CENTER

While the Citizenship Club idea can be used effectively by groups of young people in churches and other private institutions, by the American Legion, by the volunteer army, by women voters, and ought to be used in any way which is most feasible to our complex social order, yet the best use of it and the one for which it is primarily designed is its use as an activity of the Community Center. This means its use by all the young men and women, both native born and resident alien, in any local community associated together on the basis of citizenship. There is an organic unity between a Community Center and training for citizenship. The purpose of the Community Center movement is to equip with the capacity for citizenship all men and women, especially those who need it most. This obviously is what Americanization ought to mean. No Citizenship Club, therefore, unless it is compelled to, should voluntarily handicap itself by losing the advantage of association with a Community Center.

This plan of operation ought to be followed wherever possible. It is the ideal and effective plan. It exhibits in practice the central principle for which the movement stands. The most potent way to

promote an idea is not to preach but to practice it. The Community Center is the best plan yet devised for effective training in citizenship and real Americanization, not only for resident aliens, but for all. There are two ways to sell goods: describe them in words, or display them to the eye. Which method is the more effective goes without saying. If we want to "sell" the American idea to resident aliens, the effective way is to exhibit it to them in operation. Show them a real Community Center, which is America in miniature.

The process of Americanization is quite simple if Americans were willing to have it so. It may be difficult, but it is not complex. The average resident alien is prepared to go seventy-five per cent of the way towards the goal. He is prejudiced in our favor. It is true that some of them come to America for the sake merely of making money. Likewise there are some employers who for the sake of making money out of them imported them like cattle until the law stopped the process. They still induce them to come and they import negroes in carload lots, colonizing them about industrial plants. Both of these classes — the money-seeking immigrant and the exploiting employer — belong together and constitute a moral menace to the nation. It is a serious danger against which the nation ought to protect itself by special legislation.

For our present purpose these two classes may be disregarded, because they present a special prob-

lem by itself and because it is an impossible task to Americanize either a resident alien or an employer, whose god is money. But the average resident alien, the one with whom we are here concerned, comes seeking liberty, education, self-development. This is what lured him to our shores. Take such a man and show him a Community Center and he will say: "This is what I was looking for; this is what I dreamed America was like before I came; this is democracy in operation; it is brotherhood at work." Such a candidate for membership in America does not need to be preached at or compelled or persuaded. He is eagerly seeking what we ought to be willing to give him. We do not need to force him to take what he took all the trouble to come here for the express purpose of getting. For this reason resident aliens can render a particular service in helping Americans to keep themselves Americanized. Coming here to escape oppression in Europe, they are dominated by the same motive that actuated America's first settlers. With this point of view they understand America's original ideals and can make them clear to those Americans who exhibit a tendency to forget them.

President Wilson expressed the resident aliens' true attitude to America by representing them as saying: "We are going to America not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the great enterprises of the human

spirit — to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them, if they can but satisfy their quest for what their spirits crave; knowing that whatever the speech, there is but one longing and utterance of the human heart, and that is for liberty and justice." Men, who come to America actuated by a motive like this, create no problem; they present an opportunity. The fact that we have come to regard it as a problem is a clear indication that we have fallen down in the task. As soon as we begin to think of the problem in terms of opportunity, we shall be on the road to its solution. If Citizenship Clubs are organized on the Community Center principle, associating all the young men and women on a basis of citizenship alone, it will be a winsome exhibition of the true spirit of America, and further our avowed purpose more than anything else that could be said or done. Real Americanization work will advance with surprising rapidity as soon as we ourselves are willing to put America in operation in our own communities.

The eager joy with which resident aliens respond to the American spirit, when they see it in operation, may be illustrated by a little incident experienced by Judge Wendell Phillips Stafford. He went to see the statue of Lincoln by Gutzon Borglum, at Newark, New Jersey. He saw that our great typical American so exhibited the nation's ideals that even

the children of aliens understand and respond. The charming incident was so suggestive of a great fact that he described it for us in his poem, —"One of our Presidents":

He sits there on the low, rude, backless bench,
With his tall hat beside him and one arm
Flung thus across his knee. The other hand
Rests flat, palm-downward by him on the seat.
So Aesop may have sat; so Lincoln did.
For all the sadness in the sunken eyes,
For all the kinship in the uncrowned brow,
The great form leans so friendly, father-like,
It is a call to children. I have watched
Eight at a time swarming upon him there,
All clinging to him — riding upon his knees,
Cuddling between his arms, clasping his neck,
Perched on his shoulders, even on his head;
And one small play-stained hand I saw reached up
And laid most softly on the kind bronze lips
As if it claimed them. These were children — yes —
Of foreigners, we call them, but not so
They call themselves; for when we asked of one,
A restless dark-eyed girl, who this man was,
She answered straight, "One of our Presidents."

Let all the winds of hell blow in our sails,
I thought, thank God, thank God, the ship rides true!

### FESTIVAL OF CITIZENSHIP

On the completion of the year's course of training it is proposed that a public meeting be arranged on the anniversary of the Nation's birthday — July the Fourth. It is the Citizenship Club's Commencement Day, when those who have worthily

completed the course of study and who are twenty-one years old, shall be formally received into full membership in America and given the right hand of fellowship into its rights and duties.

Among the candidates for this public honor, those shall be deemed worthy to receive it, who shall have attained a certain degree of excellence during the year of training. This will be determined by the guide or leader of the club. This, of course, implies that some will need to repeat the year of study, and some may need to repeat this process more than once. It will be found that young people have a keen sense of justice and do not want to receive an honor which they have not earned.

It is unnecessary and unfitting to suggest any program for this ceremony. American people have ideas of their own. These programs will assume a great variety of forms according to a community's needs and tastes. A few items will naturally suggest themselves as suitable everywhere. For example, an address by some man or woman on the subject "What America Means to Me," so that young people may see what America means to adults. Such speakers should be selected by the Citizenship Club itself. It is suggested also that those, who are received into citizenship, ought to repeat in concert a Declaration of Loyalty, such as "The American's Creed," or "The Ephebic Oath," used by the young men of Athens on a similar occasion, both of which will be found in the

introductory pages. Both of these could be used to advantage, because one refers primarily to the nation, the other to the local community. The "Freeman's Oath" ought likewise to be used to express loyalty to the ballot box. In this connection a poem like Whittier's "Poor Man on Election Day," could be used with telling effect to accentuate the priceless value of free manhood suffrage as the instrument through which to achieve orderly reform.

The chief purpose of this public ceremony is to confer citizenship as a degree upon those who have taken a course of training for it.* A Citizenship Club is a real People's University. The dominant motive for its creation is the challenging idea expressed by Jefferson that "if the people expect to be free and independent and at the same time ignorant and illiterate, they are expecting something that never has been or ever can be." Its purpose is to enlarge the average man's opportunities and his capacity to appreciate them; to make it possible for all citizens, both native and foreign born, when speaking of the United States, to say "my country" and to mean what they say; to say it not only with honesty, but with such a degree of enthusiasm as to be willing to put the interests of "my country" above the interests of "myself." It is altogether fitting, therefore, that a university of the people, such as a Citizenship Club aims to be, should

* A suggested address for this ceremony will be found in Appendix D.

confer citizenship as a degree upon those who in this school shall have made themselves fit to receive it.

In a country like America, to conduct a course of training leading to the degree of citizenship, is not only appropriate but a paramount necessity. The poet Byron said the glory of America lies in the fact that "America is unkinged, unchurched and unsoldiered." Here every man is king over himself; every man is a policeman in plain clothes. Democracy is the rule of brother citizens over themselves. It is obvious that the success or failure of our experiment in democracy depends primarily on the intelligence and character of the average man. It is also obvious that citizenship in America is not only a big responsibilty, but a high honor.

When, therefore, a young man or woman arrives at twenty-one and enters into full citizenship, it is an event which we ought not to permit silently to pass by unrecognized, as we now do. It is an event, the importance of which should be made conspicuous and celebrated by a public ceremony which shall be a real festival of citizenship. It is highly suggestive that when Paris and London recently desired to honor President Wilson, they conferred on him the title "Citizen of Paris," "Citizen of London." They could think of no more distinguished honor to bestow on the head of this great Republic. In order to placard this significant fact before the eye and make it still more impressive, the very hand-

some gold emblem, presented to our President by the City of London, is reproduced in this book by the President's special and cordial permission.

America's welfare depends most of all on the degree to which we are able to make citizenship to be and to be recognized as the highest of human honors. To help achieve this end is the purpose of the proposed commencement ceremony of Citizenship Clubs. The act of conferring citizenship as a degree on the newly naturalized and the newly enfranchised alike, will stimulate those receiving it to value it at its true worth. It will mean also a revaluation of citizenship for many adults, to whom it has become a commonplace possession. It is hoped that in every community this annual festival will become its biggest social event and most inspiring public ceremony.

### A BADGE OF HONOR

In order to accentuate the meaning of citizenship and the importance of preparing for it, it is suggested that when the degree of citizenship is conferred, each one receiving it should be presented with a medal in recognition of their achievement. When one has completed a course of study, or done a piece of public work, or served for a period in a war, it is quite in accordance with human nature for him to want a token of recognition to keep as a memorial. He does not render the service for the sake of the token, but he enjoys having it.

What would be a good token appropriate for this purpose? It is gratifying to discover that we have one ready made to our hand, as if it had been designed today for the use of Citizenship Clubs. It is the Coat of Arms of the United States, which is likewise the Coat of Arms of every American family. Almost immediately after the Declaration of Independence was passed, that is, on the afternoon of July 4, 1776, the Continental Congress appointed a committee to prepare a design for it. But from that day to this the reverse side has never been used. No die for it has ever been cut by the Government. While both sides are significant for our purpose, it is the unused and forgotten reverse side which has pointed application to Citizenship Clubs.

In the United States the Coat of Arms is also used as the Nation's Seal in its official business by order of the President. The Secretary of State is its custodian and it is affixed only to documents which bear the President's signature. At the time the Great Seal was adopted, June 20, 1782, two sides were provided for by the creating act. The reason for the two sides was the fact that it was then the common custom among nations to use a pendent seal of wax with an impression on either side of it. But in attaching such a seal to a treaty, the wax would inevitably break, if it were unprotected, so it is enclosed in a metal box usually of gold or silver, highly ornamented, and this is at-

tached to the treaty with ribbons. This makes a cumbersome document. Our practical Yankee instinct for efficiency led us to abandon its use. With the exception of a brief period of thirteen years, the Government has used, both for treaties and all other State documents, only one side of the Seal, affixing it directly to the paper itself.

Because only the obverse side of the Seal has been employed in sealing documents, as well as for other reasons, the reverse side has never been engraved by the Government. It has a singular history. It was prescribed as part of the Seal by the original Act of 1782, but went unnoticed. When the Act of 1789 continued the Seal as prescribed by the Continental Congress, the reverse side was not designed or cut, and when the Act of 1884 made an appropriation "to obtain dies of the obverse and reverse" of the Seal, the Department of State did not cut the reverse side, but left this part of the law unexecuted, as the original law had been for a hundred years.

Because a thing has not been used for more than a hundred years is no reason why it should not be utilized, whenever an appropriate use for it has been discovered. It is hoped and believed that a most fitting use for the reverse of the seal is now discovered in connection with the Citizenship Club Movement. When the Continental Congress made the obverse of the Great Seal to be the national Coat of Arms, it was the intention that it should be

Obverse side of America's Coat of Arms designed by Victor D. Brenner for its use as a medal.

Reverse side of America's Coat of Arms designed by Victor D. Brenner for its use as a medal.

commonly used by the people just as the flag is. It is no doubt true that the reverse side of the Seal may not be as capable of artistic and effective treatment. But the design of both sides is symbolic and heraldic and the emblems have a suggestive meaning for America's ideals, but the emblems of the reverse side have a particularly fitting significance for Citizenship Clubs.

To carry out the purpose of the founders of the Republic in the use of the Seal which they designed, will do honor to their memory. It is use which consecrates a gift. In order that our National Coat of Arms may be made available for use by Citizenship Clubs, the well-known metalist, Victor D. Brenner, maker of the die for the Lincoln cent, has been instructed to make dies for both sides of the Coat of Arms. From them a medal in bronze will be struck by the United States Mint at Philadelphia. In order to safeguard its meaning, it will not be put on public sale, but be furnished at the cost of production and distribution, to members of Citizenship Clubs only. It is suggested that a Citizenship Club can each year elect to honorary membership from its own neighborhood one man and woman, or more, who have rendered conspicuous service in behalf of the practice of citizenship and the promotion of community ideals, and that the Club at its Fourth of July Commencement may bestow on them the Honor Medal in public recognition of their service. This act will help to accen-

tuate the meaning of the medal and exhibit the ideals for which it stands. The act of the founders of the Republic in designing a Coat of Arms for the new nation, with no precedent to follow, indicates a unique fact about America, which has special significance in the study of the Nation's ideals in preparation for citizenship.

### AMERICAN PIONEERS

The fact that on the afternoon of July 4th, 1776, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were appointed a Committee to design a National Coat of Arms is a typical fact and illustrates a truth about America's origins and ideals, which distinguishes them from those of any European nation. That is to say, the building of America is a recent event. Its history from the beginning lies open to view. The origins of other nations lie hidden in the mists of a dim and distant past clouded by mythical traditions. Ours lie wholly in the field of modern history, with all the facts exposed to view and with clearly defined ideals personified in a breed of heroic men and women.

Professor Charles A. McMurry is quite justified by the facts, when he says: "No other country has had such a pioneer history, such a race of men as the early Friends, the Virginians, the Puritans, the French, the Scotch-Irish, pushing westward to subdue and civilize a continent. . . . In all its stages,

it has been a period of hardships and danger, calling out the most adventurous spirits and putting men of large physical and moral calibre under the necessity of exhibiting in bold relief their individual traits. Such men were La Salle, Boone, Penn, Clark and Lincoln. . . . Our first American History belongs to the heroic age. It was the blossoming time for deeds of individual heroism. . . . The best nations of Europe were sifted by persecution in order to find seed fit for the planting of these colonies from which the United States derive their traditions."

Our pioneer period furnishes an abundance of rich material for understanding our national ideals. In any course of training for citizenship this material should be given large and thoughtful consideration. No material is better suited for the purpose. American pioneers left us a rich legacy. It is an inspiring national tradition.

### AN UNFINISHED TASK

Our pioneer nation blazed a trail and opened a new road to freedom. Our unfinished task is to keep this road open. The nature of the task — bequeathed to each succeeding generation of American young men and women is suggested by the National Coat of Arms. Therefore its use by Citizenship Clubs is designed not to be merely a token of recognition, but to serve a high spiritual purpose.

For this reason the emblems on the Coat of Arms should be understood and their significance noted.

They are all suggestive of the nation's ideals. It will be observed that the escutcheon is borne on the breast of an American eagle without any other supporters. This denotes that the only support which the nation needs is the character and intelligence of her own citizens. It symbolizes the belief that only by education for mental and moral power can a democracy hope to endure. The scroll in the eagle's beak with the motto, "E Pluribus Unum," and the bundle of thirteen arrows in its left talon, symbolize the neglected but indispensable principle in a democracy, that strength comes through concerted action. The idea was suggested to Jefferson by one of Aesop's fables. A father called his family of discordant sons about him, and taking a bundle of rods bound compactly together bade each one try to break it, which none could accomplish. He then gave each one a single rod from the bundle, which was of course easily broken.

On the reverse of the Seal, in the zenith, is an eye, in a triangle. It is an adaptation of an ancient symbol of the overseeing God. Over it is the motto, "Annuit Coeptis" adapted from a statement of Virgil. Both symbol and motto express the conviction that God has favored the Nation's undertakings, that the hand of God is in American history, that America's experiment in democracy and the Kingdom of God are one and the same. The date of

the Declaration of Independence in connection with the motto, "Novus Ordo Seculorum," expresses the conviction of the Nation's founders, that a new order of things had been inaugurated for the promotion of human welfare.

The central symbol is a pyramid to signify permanence. It is unfinished. It contains the challenge of an unfinished task. This is the most significant symbol for Citizenship Clubs. It contains the challenge to all young men and women of America to finish the task the nation's pioneers began, to carry on the progress of nation building not by the addition of more land but by the creation of a better social order.

This challenge to "carry on" the unfinished business of our original pioneers is an irresistible call and is forever repeating itself in the burning words of new pioneers on behalf of the same cause. The most telling recent expression of it was made by John McRae's "In Flanders Fields":

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place, and in the sky,
The larks, still bravely singing, fly,
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the dead; short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe!
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high!
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

Citizenship Clubs could not have a more inspiring motto than that symbolized on America's Coat of Arms and expressed by John McRae:

> To you from failing hands we throw
> The torch; be yours to hold it high!

This motto has been engraved on the Medal of Honor. Where shall the work of finishing this unfinished task be carried on? It is no doubt easier to die in Flanders Fields than to live in one's local community for the same ideals, but the call to members of Citizenship Clubs is a call to the harder task.

### EVERYMAN'S AMERICA

Everyman's America is his local community. If America does not operate there it cannot be said to operate anywhere. The history of America is just the history of her villages written large. Where will you practice your citizenship? Can you all come to Washington or to your State Capitol? There are more patriots in these places now than is good for the Nation. If all should leave the ranks, there would be no nation left. It is neither

possible nor desirable for average citizens to practice citizenship, except in local communities. The most effective way to influence public policies is through the people back home, for ours is a government by public opinion. It is critically important to see clearly that to put America into operation in local communities is the unfinished business of the nation.

> "Such is the patriot's boast, where'er we roam
> His first best country ever is at home."

A Citizenship Club should take its cue not from Tennyson's pessimistic poem, "Locksley Hall," in which the young man fooled himself into thinking he would be all right if he could only get far enough away from where he was then. It should take its cue from his optimistic "Locksley Hall Sixty Years after," in which the same young man made the revolutionary discovery that his own home soil is where the great work of the world is done. Of course, to put American ideals into operation is difficult and dangerous business. That's why it's worth while. Otherwise it would contain no challenge for red-blooded men and women. Youth is not discouraged but inspired by difficulties. The buoyant attitude of courage with which Citizenship Clubs will undertake their task is expressed in Charles Ferguson's refreshing words: "The spirit of the Age is saying to its children, Have faith. Make yourself at home. This is your own house. The laws

were made for you, gravitation and the chemical affinities, not you for them. No one can put you out of the house. Stand up, the ceiling is high."

With such a spirit all things are possible; without it nothing is possible. This creative spirit will construct its own working program. The need and stage of development in local communities are so various that it is obviously impossible to make any detailed program of practical activities and such an attempt would violate the democratic plan of self-activity, on which Citizenship Clubs are constructed. But there are two clear organizing principles to guide any club in making its own program without difficulty. One applies to the individual citizen, the other to the Nation.

From the standpoint of making citizens for the Republic our organizing principle is to select those minimum qualities essential for citizenship in a democracy — such qualities, for example, as the following:

1. The capacity for self-support.
2. The power to think for oneself.
3. The habit of mental hospitality.
4. Knowledge of the laws of the social order.
5. Information concerning health and sex.
6. An ethical view of money.
7. The spirit and method of co-operation.

If all the young men and women of any community do not have the chance to acquire these qualifica-

tions for citizenship, let the Citizenship Club set itself the high task of giving them that chance, and furnish them the studies and activities which will cultivate these qualities.

The other guiding principle applies to the nation, that is, to the community as such, and may be stated thus. Let us suppose that an unexpected visitor in an aeroplane from somewhere, no matter where, was flying over North America. He had intended to make a non-stop flight, but he develops engine trouble. He is compelled to make a landing. He lands by accident in your community, not knowing where he is. He asks you where he is. You answer that he is in America.

"America," he exclaims in a tone of expectant joy. "I have heard much of America," he says. "This is an unlooked for pleasure. Since circumstances have made me a visitor, I shall use this chance to gather some information. And since this will be my only stop in your country, I shall be compelled to assume that your community is typical of America, that this is a cross-section of your nation, America in miniature. It is necessary for me to base my impression of America on what I see here. Please show me what institutions and activities there are in your community, which will give me a correct idea of American ideals."

Would such a visit and such questions embarrass you or not? Would they make you feel pride or shame on account of your community? What in-

stitutions or customs have you which you would show him and which you think would exhibit America to him? Have you any which you would be willing to have America judged by? Be definite and honest. Name them, one, two, three. If there are no institutions or customs which would give such a visitor a fairly accurate idea of what America is, if your community is not now a typical cross-section of America, then it has a definite clear-cut task to occupy its thought and challenge the sincerity of its patriotism for the next twenty-five years. Certainly one of the first leading questions which such a visitor would naturally ask is this: "In a free county like yours, where the average man and now the average woman decides on public policies and elects public officials, you undoubtedly have, for the sake of your self-preservation, but I want to know for sure whether there is an organized activity to train coming citizens for the intelligent discharge of this high duty?" If you must confess that your community makes no attempt to meet this obvious and critical need in a country like ours, if such an activity glares by its absence, well, then, you need no one to point out your civic duty; your program is ready made to your hand. This is your first big task. Arise, let us proceed to meet it, and to organize a Citizenship Club.

## PART II

# PREPARATION OF A BOOK

## (A.) WHAT ARE AMERICA'S IDEALS?

1. *Foundations of our Government.*
— THOMAS JEFFERSON

2. *Sovereignty of the Common Man.*
— FELIX ADLER

"It is only too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. If to please the people we offer what we ourselves disapprove, however can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair: the event is in the hand of God."

— GEORGE WASHINGTON

# FOUNDATIONS OF OUR GOVERNMENT

## OUTLINE OF CONTENTS


I. The Common Good

1. Rights of the minority
2. Necessity of affection
3. Political tolerance
4. Safety in reason

II. Representative Government

1. Its weakness
2. Its strength
   (a) Obedience to law
   (b) America's advantage
3. Why Government is needed.

III. Essence of Good Government

1. Exact justice
2. International friendship
3. Ballot-box safe-guarded
4. Majority rule
5. Civil authority first
6. Public economy
7. Agriculture basic
8. Informed public opinion
9. Freedom of opinion and person
10. Impartial jury trial

IV. Test of Administration

... MEMBERS OF CITIZENSHIP
... SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF ONE
... COURSE OF STUDY ... FOR THE TASK OF CITIZENSHIP.

## OUTLINE OF CONTENTS


I. THE COMMON GOOD

1. Rights of the minority
2. Necessity of affection
3. Political tolerance
4. Safety in [illegible]

II. REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

1. Its weaknesses
2. Its strength
   (a) [illegible] to law
   (b) [illegible] a's advantage
3. [illegible] is needed.

III. [illegible] GOOD GOVERNMENT

[illegible]
[illegible] friendship
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] and person
[illegible]

IV. [illegible] ADMINISTRATION

THE MEDAL OF HONOR DESIGNED ONLY FOR MEMBERS OF CITIZENSHIP CLUBS IN RECOGNITION OF THEIR SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF ONE FULL YEAR'S COURSE OF SPECIAL TRAINING FOR THE TASK OF CITIZENSHIP.

# FOUNDATIONS OF OUR GOVERNMENT *

By Thomas Jefferson

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed, the animation of discussion and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate which would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long

* From the First Inaugural Address, 1801.

bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety. But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong, that this Government is not strong enough; but would the honest patriot, in full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man,

at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own history, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter — with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one

thing more, fellow-citizens — a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper that you should understand what I deem the essential principle of our Government, and consequently those which ought to shape its Administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the Central Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people — a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions

of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety.

# SOVEREIGNTY OF THE COMMON MAN

## OUTLINE OF CONTENTS


I. The New American Ideal

1. National standards
2. Value of a man

II. The German Ideal

1. Efficiency
   (a). Titles for occupations
   (b). Theory and practice
   (c). Discipline of duty

III. The English Ideal

1. Noblesse oblige
   (a). Individual freedom
   (b). How to rate a man
2. Aristocracy of merit
   (a). Open down and up
   (b). Conspicuous service

IV. The American Ideal

1. A man's a man for a' that
   (a). The common man
   (b). Spiritual possibilities
   (c.) Air of expectancy
   (d). A possible great man
   (e). Inspired by the future.

# SOVEREIGNTY OF THE COMMON MAN *

By Felix Adler

The American nation is really a new and distinctive nation, and not merely a branch of Anglo-Saxondom. But new and distinctive in what respect? Surely in the presence and operation amongst us of a new ideal of life, differing from that of other peoples — a new American ideal, which may be contrasted, for instance, with the German and English ideals. Let me enlarge upon this contrast, in order to bring out the difference.

By the ruling ideal I mean especially that which has to do with the standard by which the place of a man in the social scale is determined; the grounds on which he rises or descends in social esteem, and more or less in his own esteem.

There are, of course, certain general standards of evaluation which prevail the world over which here may be taken for granted. In every society men of wealth, rightly or wrongly, enjoy greater social prestige than poor men. The world over, personal charm, affability, courteous manners, etc., count. But these are universal credentials. What

* From his book: The World Crisis and Its Meaning. D. Appleton and Company, New York.

we are here concerned with are the peculiar national standards. As the different nations have different standards for measuring things, such as the pint and the liter, the meter and the yard, so different peoples have different measures for determining the value of a man. And these national standards let in light on the deeper tendencies that move in a nation's life.

The German ideal, roundly speaking, is that of efficiency. The social value of a man is determined by his occupation, his task, and the measure of his proficiency in it. There are lower and higher tasks. There is the occupation of the laborer, the artisan, the merchant, the university professor, the king. In Germany a man counts according to the dignity of his task and his ability in the performance of it.

The system of titles prevailing in any country, or the absence of any, is a most interesting index of national psychology. In England there are very high-sounding titles, but observe that they stop short just above the middle class. In France there is a shadow remaining of the titular system in the decorations of the Legion of Honor. In the United States there are no titles — a point on which we shall dwell later. But in Germany the titles run vertically from the top almost to the lowest stratum. Above the indiscriminate proletariat almost everyone has a title. Why is this? For the reason that a man's title refers to his occupation, to the work

he does; and the occupation determines how he is rated, the degree to which he counts. The titles of nobility were originally derived from the military occupation. The physician, when he has attained a certain eminence in his profession, is entitled *Medicinalrath*. The merchant is decorated with the title of *Kommercienrath*. Then there is the *Finanz*-rath, the *Justizrath*. But it is important to remark that further down the same method is still in use. The builder is called *Herr Baumeister*, the engineer *Herr Ingenieur*. Even the janitor expects to be addressed as *Herr Hausmeister*. The title is that which entitles a man, or indicates the degree to which a man is entitled, to social consideration. And the fact that the title is elaborately spread out on the address of letters, is engraved even on the tombstone after a man is dead — the title which designates the occupation — is evidence of the intimate connection upon which I am laying stress, in analyzing the psychology of the German ideal, between the task and personal value.

The matter of efficiency needs to be further defined by two determining factors. The German people, as everyone acknowledges, are a highly intellectual people. Their peculiar kind of efficiency is the fruit of the invariable combination of theory and practice on which they lay such stress, the intellectual penetration of every task. They do not rely as much as others do on knack, ingenuity, or rule of thumb. They investigate with minute pa-

tience the scientific conditions that underlie every practical problem. They base work on science. They endeavor to think out beforehand every step of the process. It is for this reason, for example, that they have taken the lead in the chemical industry. It is said that in one of the great chemical works on the Rhine several hundred chemists are constantly employed in the laboratories conducted by the firm. It is the same in minor occupations. Germany is covered with a network of vocational schools for tailors, carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers and barbers, all having for their object to train those who are employed in these occupations in such scientific principles as may be of use to them in the performance of their daily work.

The second factor that determines the German conception of work, and of efficiency in work, is discipline — not the discipline of an external force imposed upon the worker, but a call to which he is expected to respond of his own accord. The task lays certain obligations upon him who would perform it well. To rise to these obligations is discipline. Laboriousness, punctuality, patient endurance of fatigue, persistence, suppression of the play instinct, the overcoming of inertia and of the tendency to wander off in thought during the hours of work — these are among his ever-present conscious duties. The idea of the obligation laid upon the worker by his task is the essence, as I understand it, of that great though perhaps narrow conception

of *Pflicht und Schuldigkeit,* which plays so prominent a role in German literature and in German life. *Pflicht und Schuldigkeit* signified primarily the duty and the debt which lie upon the worker to perform life's specific tasks, whatever they may be. The king in his cabinet acknowledges this obligation, the common laborer is expected to subject himself to it. No wonder that Kant, the German philosopher *par excellence,* expressed in the language of his philosophical system, in the sublime apostrophe contained in his *Ethics,* that supreme conception of duty as an absolute peremptory fact not to be shirked, which fits so fully the feeling of obligation as it is inherent in the German people.

It should be added, however, that the Germans are also disposed toward mystic religion. Some of the chief mystics — Meister Eckhart, Tauler, Jacob Boehme — were Germans. A recent French critic points out that the starting point of Protestantism was a mystical experience of Luther's. Goethe's poetry is deeply charged with pantheistic feeling; Wagner's music is expressive of cosmic mysticism. Now mysticism seeks to submerge the self in the all, to obliterate the sense of particularity. It therefore lies in the direction exactly opposite to the tendency toward specialization and particularization which has been dwelt upon as the main feature of German life. Mysticism may be characterized as the holiday occupation of the German soul seeking to get free of the bonds by which it is habitually

tethered, to escape into wide open universal spaces and to extricate itself from the local enchainment of the task. It is a recoil against the habitual tendency. In the case of every people there are such reactions, which should be included in complete account.

The national ideal of the English may be described as that of *noblesse oblige*. We are again, of course, attempting but a kind of shorthand sketch, a picture in the Impressionist manner. England is the dean of political liberty among the nations. She was the earliest to establish parliamentary government, and her own political institutions, and those of the self-governing colonies — that is, of the ten or twelve million whites outside of England — have come to be more and more the expression of liberal ideas. This is, of course, not true of the three hundred and fifty millions of the races subject to Britain, who are not accorded self-government, but are ruled on the principles of benevolent despotism. But in the United Kingdom itself political liberalism is firmly rooted. The suffrage has been again and again extended, until it is now almost as inclusive as in the United States. Nowhere in the world are the personal rights of the individual better protected. The Englishman is far more jealous of any infringement of his liberties than the American.

Nevertheless, the question to what extent the individual shall possess rights and shall be rep-

resented in the Parliament that enacts the laws to which he is subject, is one question; and the question on what grounds he shall count among his fellows is another. There are marked inequalities of consequence and consideration in England, and here we get closer to the national ideal. How does England *rate* a man?

Once more, the system of titles, differing in England from that which is in vogue in Germany, gives us a clue. There are dukes, marquises, earls; there is plain Sir Thomas or Sir John, the baronet. And there is a constant creation of new peers and baronets. Even Mr. Bryce, the great student and eulogist of democratic commonwealths, is finally transfigured into Lord Bryce. John Morley becomes Lord Morley.

The French, on the famous night of the fourth of August, abolished their aristocracy at one stroke, a number of nobles themselves sacrificing their titles on the altar of country. But the English, with all their progress in democratic institutions, have never abolished their nobility. Who, in sensing the national ideal, can overlook the meaning of this outstanding fact, its tribute to the ideal of the *noblesse?* Here is a *noblesse* in the traditional sense, an ancient hereditary aristocracy as the nucleus, and around it, in far greater numbers, crystallized as about a core, a modern *noblesse* of distinction in statesmanship or statecraft, in war, in commerce, also in literature, science and art —

Lord Kelvin, Lord Tennyson, Lord Leighton — and this *noblesse* is looked up to as the culmination of English society, permeating all the people downward with its influence, and still possessing considerable power in the political sphere.

It is as though the English were to say: "In the constitution of every human society there must be an irrational element; pure rationality is not feasible in human affairs, it exists only in the dreams of visionaries. Now grant us as our irrational element a small number of persons counted as of the highest rank from the mere accident of birth, without regard to their merit, and let us use this irrational element as a magnet in order to gather around it a real aristocracy of distinction in all the walks of life." The English nobility has been distinguished from that of the continent by the free passage it has kept open downward among the people and upward from the people; downward because the title, whatever it be, is vested only in a single heir; the younger sons of peers being thrust down among the commoners; and upward because the ranks of the nobility are open, or at least association with the nobility is open, to men of power from whatever class. John Burns, the leader of the London dock strike, became a cabinet minister, and if he had stayed long enough might have ended by becoming Lord Burns.

The English idea, therefore, would seem to represent, subject to the inhibitions of political lib-

eralism, the social predominance and, to a large extent, the political influence of the masterful men, of men who have gained the ascendant, each in his own class, of those who in the competitive struggle have risen to the top. The wealthy brewer may be among the number, the successful merchant, Ramsay MacDonald, perhaps, the powerful laborite. England is in this sense governed from the top, governed from above downward, however controlled by the mass.

The reason why titles do not extend in England as they do in Germany all the way through, but stop at the middle class, is now apparent. In Germany efficiency is the standard by which personal consideration is measured, and any man may be efficient in the performance of his task. In England, mastery, ascendancy is the test, and all those who have distinctly gained the ascendancy are decorated with titles and congregated at the top. But those who are below are not therefore despised. Their personal rights are safe. Their rights as electors are undisputed, their right to control and check every action of their leaders; but in point of social consequence, of value as individuals apart from rights, they are the ones who, if they have not failed in the struggle, at least have not conspicuously succeeded.

The temper of this democratized English nobility — I refer to the more recent developments, and not to ancient times — is on the whole generous. The

art of government is treated as a fine art. Men of large landed property or of independent wealth set the pace, and infuse their spirit into the ruling class. The watchword is, not government by the people, but government for the people, and in England and the colonies, subject to the control of the people, government in a large, disinterested fashion.

In turning now to the national ideal of America, we discover that this defines the value of a man to consist, not in what he has achieved, nor in his ability to rise above others, but simply in his quality as a human being. America tends to appraise personality, not by what has appeared on the surface of a man's life, not by the apparent, but by the unapparent, not by the actualization, but by the spiritual possibilities, and in respect to the area of possibilities all human beings are alike.

The American ideal is that of the uncommon quality latent in the common man. Necessarily it is an ethical ideal, a spiritual ideal; otherwise it would be nonsense. For, taking men as they are, they are assuredly not equal. The differences between them, on the contrary, are glaring. The common man is not uncommonly fine spiritually, but rather, seen from the outside, "uncommonly" common. It is therefore an ethical instinct that has turned the people toward this ethical conception.

It is true that in Germany and in England, side by side with the efficiency and the mastery ideals, there has always existed this same spiritual or re-

ligious ideal; side by side with the stratification and entitulation of men, the labeling of them as lower and higher, as empirically better or worse, there has always been the recognition that men are equal — equal, that is to say, in church, but not outside, equal in the hereafter but not in this life. If we would fathom the real depth and inner significance of the democratic ideal as it slumbers or dreams in the heart of America, rather than as yet explicit, we must say that it is an ideal which seeks to overcome this very dualism, seeks to take the spiritual conception of human equality out of the church and put it into the market place, to take it from far-off celestial realms for realization upon this earth. For men are not equal in the empirical sense; they are equal only in the spiritual sense, equal only in the sense that the margin of achievement of which any person is capable, be it wide or narrow, is infinitesimal compared with his infinite spiritual possibilities.

It is because of this subconscious ethical motive that there is this generous air of expectation in America, that we are always wondering what will happen next, or who will happen next. Will another Emerson come along? Will another Lincoln come along? We do not know. But this we know, that the greatest lusters of our past already tend to fade in our memory, not because we are irreverent, but because nothing that the past has accomplished can content us; because we are looking for

greatness beyond greatness, truth beyond truth ever yet spoken. The Germans have a legend that in their hour of need an ancient emperor will arise out of the tomb where he slumbers to stretch his protecting hand over the Fatherland. We, Americans, too, have the belief that if ever such an hour comes for us there will arise spirits clothed in human flesh amongst us sufficient for our need, but spirits that will come, as it were, out of the future to meet our advancing host and lead it, not ghosts out of the storied past. For America differs from all other nations in that it derives its inspiration from the future. Every other people has some culture, some civilization, handed down from the past, of which it is the custodian, and which it seeks further to develop. The American people have no such single tradition. They are dedicated, not to the preservation of what has been, but to the creation of what never has been. They are the prophets of the future, not the priests of the past.

## (B.) HOW MUCH ARE THEY PRACTICED?

1. *Making the Middle Class Dominant.*
— HENRY WARD BEECHER

2. *Our Treatment of the Immigrant.*
— EDWARD A. STEINER

"I loved my country, so as only they,
Who love a mother fit to die for, may;
I loved her old renown, her stainless fame,
What better proof than that I loathed her shame."

— JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

# MAKING THE MIDDLE CLASS DOMINANT

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## *AN ASSET*

# MAKING THE MIDDLE CLASS DOMINANT *

By Henry Ward Beecher

The earliest attempt to develop men, on purpose, was in Egypt, so far as we know. The Egyptian school has all the marks in it of antiquity and of primitive development, for it was limited in the numbers admitted and limited in the topics taught. Only the royal family could go to the schools of Egypt. That included, of course, the priesthood; and putting aside some slight mathematical teaching, it is probable that mysteries and superstitions were the whole subjects taught, and that mainly to teach men how to be hierarchs or rulers of some sort. When we cross over the sea to Greece, at a period much later, though how much we know not, we find that schools had developed, and that the idea of making more of men than natural law makes of them, or the casual influences of human society — the attempt directly to train intelligence and to produce knowledge — was farther advanced; for anybody could go to a Greek school that had the means to pay — anybody but slaves and women:

* From an address delivered in Exeter Hall, London, 1886.

they trained very near together in antiquity, and they are not quite far enough apart yet. And yet I am bound to correct myself when I say that women were not privileged; they were. It is probable that in no period of human history has more pains been taken with the education of women than was taken in Greece. In all their accomplishments, in learning, in music, in the dance, in poetry, in literature, in history, in philosophy, even in statesmanship, women were very highly educated, provided they were to live the lives of courtesans. The fact is simply astounding that in the age of Pericles intelligence and accomplishments were associated with impudicity, and were the signs of it, and that ignorance and modesty were associated ideas. If a woman would have the credit of purity and uprightness in social relations she must be the drudge of the household, and if any woman radiant in personal beauty and accomplished, fitted for conversation with statesmen and philosophers, appeared, it was taken for granted that she was accessible. . . .

We hardly can trace the unfolding of human intelligence after it plunged into that twilight or darkness of the Middle Ages. Then we begin to find intelligence developed through mechanical guilds, and in various ways of commerce; but schools, such as we now understood schools to be, are very imperfectly traced out in the Middle Ages. But when that new impulse came to the moral nature, and

the intellectual and philosophical nature, to art, to literature, to learning — when the Reformation came, whose scope was not ecclesiastical alone by any means — it was a resurrection of the human intelligence throughout its whole vast domain — schools began to appear to be, as John Milton says, "Raked embers out of the ashes of the past," and they began to glow again. And from that time on, the progress of the efforts to develop, by actual teaching, human intelligence grows broader, brighter, and more effectual down to our present day; and to-day in the principal nations of Europe education is compulsory, the education not of favored classes, not of the children of the wealthy, not of those that have inherited genius, but the children of the common people. It is held that it is unsafe for a State to raise ignorant men. Ignorant men are like bombs, which are a great deal better to be shot into an enemy's camp than to be kept at home, for where an ignorant man goes off he scatters desolation; and it is not safe to have ignorant men, for an ignorant man is an animal, and the stronger his passions and the feebler his conscience and intellect, the more dangerous he is. Therefore, for the sake of the commonwealth, our legislators wisely, whether they be republican institutions or monarchical institutions or aristocratical institutions, have at last joined hands on one thing — that it is best to educate the people's children, from the highest to the lowest everywhere.

And what, in connection with various other general causes, has been the result of this unfolding of intelligence among the common people? It has not yet gone down to the bottom; there is a strata of undeveloped intelligence among the nations of Europe certainly; I am not speaking now of the residuum that falls down from the top like the slime of the ocean, but of those who are reasonable and honest and virtuous and useful. It may be said that, as the sun touches the tops of the mountains first and works its way downward through the valley later and later in the day, so there is very much to be done in Europe yet to bear knowledge and intelligence, which is better than knowledge, to the lowest classes of the common people. All those heavings, all those threatened revolutions, all those civil and commercial developments that are like the waves of the sea, are springing from the fact that God in His providence has thrown light and intelligence upon the great under-mass of society; and the under-parts of society, less fortunate in every respect than those that are advanced, are seeking room to develop themselves; they are seeking to go up, and no road has been found along which they can travel as yet. I do not believe in Nihilism in Russia. If I had been born and brought up there, and had felt the heel on my neck, I would have been a Nihilist. I am poor stuff to make an obedient slave out of! Nevertheless, they are like blind men trying to find their way into the open air,

and if they stumble or go into wrong departments, are they to be derided and cursed? Because they are seeking to construct a government after they shall have destroyed government and made a wilderness, are they, because they are doing the best they know how — are they, therefore, to be cursed? or pitied, better directed, emancipated? When they come to America to teach us how to make commonwealths, we think they are out of place, decidedly. Well, that is our trait. We thank Europe for a great deal — for literature, ancient and modern; we thank Europe for teachers in art, in color, in form, in sound; we are grateful for all these things; but when the Socialists of Germany, and the Communists of France, and the Nihilists of Russia come to teach us how to reorganize human society, they have come to the wrong place. Their ignorance is not our enlightenment. [Applause.]

The main cause of all this, the cause of causes, lies in the swelling of the intelligence of the great, hitherto neglected, and ignorant masses of Europe. They are seeking elevation, they are seeking a larger life, and as men grow in intelligence life must grow too. When a man is an animal he does not want much except straw and fodder; but when a man begins to be a rational and intelligent creature, he wants a good deal more than the belly asks; for reason wants something, taste needs something, conscience needs something; every faculty brought into ascendancy and power is a new hunger, and

must be supplied. No man is so cheap as the brutal, ignorant man; no man can rise up from the lower stations of life and not need more for his support from the fact that he is civilized and Christianized, and although he may not have it individually, the community must supply it for him. He must have resources of knowledge, he must have means of refinement, he must have limitations of taste or he feels himself slipping backward; and as I look upon the phenomena of society in Europe it is the phenomena of God calling to the great masses of a growingly enlightened people, "Come up," and they are saying, "'Which way? By what road? How?" And they must needs pass through the experiment of ignorance, tentative ignorance, and failure in a thousand things. They must pass through these preliminary stages, for as it was necessary when they came out of the bondage of Egypt that the children of Israel should go through the wilderness for forty years, so all people have to go forty years and more through the wilderness of mistake, through the wilderness of trials and attempts that fail; and it may be said, indeed, that the pyramid of permanent society is built up on blocks of blunders, and it is mistakes that have pointed out the true way to mankind. Now what has taken place among the common people? Once they thought about their own cottage and their own little steading; they have gradually learned to think about the whole neighborhood. Once they were

able to look after their own limited affairs; they recognize the community of men, and are beginning to think about the affairs of other men — as the Apostle said: "Look ye every man on his own things, but also every man on the things of others." They are having a society interest among themselves. Once they had limited thoughts and bits of knowledge — intelligence; they are competent to think, to choose discriminatingly; they are competent to organize themselves; they are learning that self-denial by which men can work in masses of men; they are beginning to have a light in life transcendentally higher than the old contentment of the bestial state of miserable labor in miserable Europe. [Applause.] Such are the results, briefly stated, to which God in His providence has brought the masses of the common people, and the promise of the future is brighter even than the fulfilment of the past. What the issues will be and what the final fruits will be God knows and man does not know!

Now, if you cross the sea to our own land, my own land, the land of my fathers, we shall find that there are influences tending to give power to the brain, alertness, quickness; to give to it also a wider scope and range than it has in the average of the laboring classes in Europe. Here and there are communities, which if transplanted on the other shore, will scarcely know that they were not born and brought up there; but this is not true of the

great mass of the common people of all Europe. Our climate is stimulating. Ship-masters tell me that they cannot drink in New York as they do in Liverpool. Heaven help Liverpool! There is more oxygen in our air. It has some importance in this, that anything that gives acuteness, vivacity, spring, to the substance of the brain prepares it for education and larger intelligence. A dull, watery, sluggish brain may do for a conservative; but God never made them to be the father of progress. They are very useful as brakes on the wheel down hill; but they never would draw anything up hill in the world. And yet, in the fanatic influence that tends to give vitality and quickness, force and continuity to the human brain, lies the foundation for the higher style of manhood; and although it is not to be considered as a primary and chief cause of smartness, if you will allow that word, yet it is one among others. And then, when the child is born on the other side, he is born into an atmosphere of expectation. He is not out of the cradle before he learns that he has got to earn his living; he is hereditarily inspired with the idea of money. Sometimes, when I see babies in the cradle apparently pawing the air, I think that they are making change in their own minds of future bargains. But this has great force as an educating element in early childhood: "You will be poor if you do not exert yourself"; and at every future state it lies with each man what his condition in society is to be.

This becomes a very powerful developer of the cerebral mass, and from it comes intelligence and power of intellect. And then, up side of that, when he goes into life the whole style of society tends toward intense cerebral excitability. For instance, as to business, I find in London that you may go down at nine o'clock and there is nobody in his office; at ten o'clock the clerks are there; at eleven o'clock some persons do begin to appear. By that time the Yankees have got half through the day. And it is in excess; it is carried to a fault; for men there are ridden by two demons. They desire excessive property — I do not know that they are much distinguished from their ancestors — they desire more than enough for the uses of the family, and when a man wants more money than he can use he wants too much. But they have the ambition of property, which is accursed, or should be. Property may be used in large masses to develop property, and coördinated estates may do work that single estates cannot do; I am not, therefore, speaking of vast enterprises like railroads and factories. But the individual man thinks in the beginning, "If I could only make myself worth a hundred thousand dollars, I should be willing to retire from business." Not a bit of it. A hundred thousand dollars is only an index of five hundred thousand; and when he has come to five hundred thousand he is like Moses — and very unlike him — standing on the top of the mountain and looking over the promised land,

and he says to himself, "A million! a million!" and a million draws another million, until at last he has more than he can use, more than is useful to him, and he won't give it away — not till after his death. That is cheap benevolence. [Applause.] Well, this is the first element of mistake among large classes of commercial life in America.

The second is, they want it suddenly. They are not willing to say, "For forty years I will lay gradually the foundations, and build the golden stones one above another." No; they want grass lands. They want to win by gambling, for that is gambling when a man wants money without having given a fair equivalent for it. And so they press nature to her utmost limits till the very diseases of our land are changing; men are dropping dead with heart disease; men are dropping dead — it is paralysis; men are dropping dead — it is Bright's disease. Ah! it is the violence done to the brain by excessive industry, through excessive hours, and through excessive ambition, which is but another name for excessive avarice.

But outside of that there is still another excitement, and that is politics. Now, you in this insular and cool climate are never excited in politics at all; but we are in our sunshiny land. Especially are we so once in four years, when the great quadrennial election comes off, and when the most useless thing on God's earth is built on God's earth — namely, a political platform, which men never use and never

stand on after it is once built. Then the candidates are put forth, and every newspaper editor, and every public-spirited citizen and elector goes before the people and declares to them that the further existence of the Government depends on the election of both parties. [Laughter.] Now, nations have a wondrous way of continuing to live after they are doomed to death, and we contrive to get along from four years to four years. Nevertheless the excitement is prodigious. Men say these wild excitements are not wholesome I say they are. The best speeches of the community scattered through the land, discussing finance, taxes, education, are the education of the common people, and they learn more in a year of universal debate than they would in twenty years of reading and thinking without such help. . . .

Well, what has been the result of all these influences which have been superadded to those universal stimuli to which all the civilized world outside of our land has been subject? What has been the result on our side? We have 60,000,000 men, women, and children in America; we have common schools for every living soul that is born on that continent — except Chinese. Now, in the States where, twenty-five years ago, it was a penitentiary offence to teach a slave how to read, we are sending out a thousand educated colored teachers to teach schools, to practice law and medicine through the colored population of the South; the Government

is enlisted in their behalf, and the States are proud of their colored schools that a little time ago would have burnt a man who dared to advocate the education of the slave. We are the harbor to which all the sails of the world crowd with immigrants, and we bless God for it. Their letters go back thicker than leaves in autumn, to those that are left behind; and we have a vast population from Spain, from Portugal, from Italy, from Hungary, from Austria, from Germany, from Russia; we have a vast population from all the Scandinavian lands, from Scotland, from England, and occasionally from Ireland. Let them come; if you don't want them, we do. It takes a little time, you know, to get them used to things; but whenever the children of foreign immigrants, of whom we have 8,000,000 born and bred in our land; whenever these children have gone through our common-schools, they are just as good Americans as if they had not had foreign parents. The common-schools are the stomachs of the Republic, and when a man goes in there he comes out, after all, American.

Well, now we are playing the experiment before the world on a tremendous scale, and the world does not quite believe in it. I do. They say: "With regard to your success in government of the people, by the people, for the people, in the language of the Liturgy, you are dependent upon extraneous conditions; it is not philosophically to be inferred from the principles of your government; you have

got so much land, wait till the struggle for existence takes place, as in the denser populations of Europe, and then you will find that self-government will be but flimsy to hold men's passions in check, and then, by and by, you will go from anarchy to a centralized and strong government." I do not blame them for thinking so. If I had been brought up as they have been, perhaps I should think so; but they do not understand it; they do not understand the facts which actually are in existence, and are fundamental. For we are not attempting to build Society; we are by Society attempting to build the individual. We hold that the State is strong in the proportion in which every individual in that State is free, large, independent. You have a finer educated upper class than we; you have nobler and deeper scholars in greater numbers than we have; you have institutions compared with which ours are puny; you are educating the top, we are educating Society from the bottom to the top; we are not attempting to lift favored classes higher; we are not attempting to give to those that already have; we are attempting to put our hands under the foundations of human life, and lift everybody up. That is a slower work; but when it is done and its fruits are ripe you will never doubt again which is the wisest and best policy.

I do not supose that if you were to go and look upon the experiment of self-government in America you would have a very high opinion of it. I have

not either if I just look on the surface of things. Why, men will say: "It stands to reason that 60,000,000 ignorant of law, ignorant of constitutional history, ignorant of jurisprudence, of finance, and taxes and tariffs and forms of currency — 60,000,000 people that never studied these things — are not fit to rule. Your diplomacy is as complicated as ours, and it is the most complicated on earth, for all things grow in complexity as they develop toward a higher condition. What fitness is there in these people? Well, it is not democracy merely; it is a representative democracy. Our people do not vote in mass for anything; they pick out captains of thought, they pick out the men that do know, and they send them to the Legislature to think for them, and then the people afterward ratify or disallow them.

But when you come to the Legislature I am bound to confess that the thing does not look very much more cheering on the outside. Do they really select the best men? Yes; in times of danger they do very generally, but in ordinary time "kissing goes by favor." What is that dandy in the Legislature for? His father was an eminent judge, and they thought it would be a compliment to the old gentleman to send his son up to the Legislature, not because he knows anything, but because his father does. It won't do to make too close an inquisition as to why people are in legislatures. What is that weasel-faced lawyer doing there? Well, there may

be ten or twenty gentlemen who wanted legislation that would favor their particular property interest instead of the commonwealth, and they wanted somebody to wriggle a bill through the Legislature; and so he sits for the commonwealth. That great blustrous man squeezing on the front seats; what is he there for? He? He could shake hands with more mothers, kiss more pretty girls and more babies, and tell more funny stories in an hour than any other man in a month, and so they send him up to make laws. [Laughter.] When they get there it would do your heart good just to go and look at them. You know what the duty of a regular Republican-Democratic legislator is. It is to get back again next winter. His second duty is what? His second duty is to put himself under that extraordinary providence that takes care of legislators' salaries. The old miracle of the prophet and the meal and the oil is outdone immeasurably in our days, for they go there poor one year, and go home rich; in four years they become money-lenders, all by a trust in that gracious providence that takes care of legislators' salaries. Their next duty after that is to serve the party that sent them up, and then, if there is anything left of them, it belongs to the commonwealth. Some one has said very wisely, that if a man travelling wishes to relish his dinner he had better not go into the kitchen to see where it is cooked; if any man wishes to respect and obey the law, he had better not go to the Legislature to

see where that is cooked. This, I presume, is entirely an American point of view. [Applause.]

Well, there are a great many more faults in self-government, but time will not permit me to enumerate them all, and yet I say that self-government is the best government that ever existed on the face of the earth. How should that be with all these damaging facts? "By their fruits ye shall know them." What a government is, is to be determined by the kind of people it raises, and I will defy the whole world in time past, and in time present, to show so vast a proportion of citizens so well off, so contented, so remunerated by their toil. The average of happiness under our self-government is greater than it ever has been, or can be, found under any sky, or in any period of human history. And the philosophical reason is not far to find; it belongs to that category in which a worse thing is sometimes a great deal better than a better thing. William has been to school for over a year, and his teacher says to him one day: "Now, William, I am afraid your father will think that I am not doing well by you; you must write a composition — you must send your father a good composition to show what you are doing." Well, William never did write a composition, and he does not know how. "Oh, write about something that you know about — write about your father's farm, and so, being goaded to his task, William says: "A cow is a useful animal. A cow has four legs and two horns. A cow

gives good milk. I love good milk. — William Bradshaw." The master looks over his shoulder, and says: "Pooh! your father will think you are a cow. Here, give me that composition, I'll fix it." So he takes it home and fixes it. Here it reads: "When the sun casts off the dusky garments of the night, and appearing o'er the orient hills, sips the dew-drops pendent from every leaf, the milkmaid goes afield chanting her matin song," and so on, and so on. [Applause.] Now I say that, rhetorically, the master's composition was unspeakably better than William's; but as a part of William's education, his poor scrawly lines are unspeakably better than the one that has been "fixed" for him. No man ever yet learned by having somebody else learn for him. A man learns arithmetic by blunder in and blunder out, but at last he gets it. A man learns to write through scrawling; a man learns to swim by going into the water, and a man learns to vote by voting. Now we are not attempting to make a government; we are attempting to teach 60,000,000 of men how to conduct a government by self-control, by knowledge, by intelligence, by fair opportunity to practise. It is better that we should have 60,000,000 of men learning through their own mistakes how to govern themselves, than it is to have an arbitrary government with the whole of the rest of the people ignorant. . . .

Men are alarmed, they want peace. Well, you can find it in the graveyard, and that is the only

place. [Laughter.] Among living men you can find no peace. Growth means disturbance; peace means death in any such sense as that of non-investigation, not changing, and if men say: "If you give up the old landmark you do not know where you will land." I know where you will land if you do not. Do you believe in God? Do you believe that He has a providence over human affairs? I do. And I believe that that hand that has steered this vagrant world through all the dark seas and storms of the past has hold of the helm yet, and through all seeming confusions He will steer the nations and the people to the golden harbor of the millennium safe. Trust Him, love Him, and rejoice. [Applause.]

# OUR TREATMENT OF THE IMMIGRANT

nity. I impressed upon them that they are to be factors in that government, and that upon their behavior one towards the other depends our common well-being; and what I said was not unintelligible to the people to whom I spoke.

I remember many individuals in that group, and the members of one family in particular stand out.

They had come from the Caucasus, and had passed through horrible persecutions because of their religious ideas. From Russia they fled into Turkey, where they had to witness the horrible butcheries of the Armenians.

Unable to stand it any longer they decided upon the long, hard journey to the United States. They fairly hung upon my words. The land I described was the land they were seeking; here were the ideals for which they had suffered, and they were not alone in those anticipations.

At last we came under the lea of the sand dunes of Long Island, and witnessed the slow disclosure of that marvel of cities, with its heaven assaulting roofs and spires. The ship lay at anchor and the quarantine officers came on board. The immigrants had been driven down like cattle, and one by one were to pass before the officers.

Their hats were knocked from their heads by the impatient guardian of the health of the State; they were pulled and pushed in a fashion by which our ineffective hurry always expresses itself. The spectacle was so brutal that I could not stand it. I

jumped into the line and made a protest which was ineffective, for I was threatened with arrest for interfering with an officer; while the brutal and brutalizing process went on as before.

At Ellis Island the procedure was more humane, and it is but just to say that the Commissioners of Immigration in the last twelve years have been men above reproach, to whom the task appealed as a big opportunity for service. At no time has there been a more intelligent head of that institution than it has in Mr. Frederic Howe, who represents the flower of our American citizenship, which one wishes might be more common than it is.

My family from the Caucasus went to West Virginia, to the coal fields, and were sheltered in a stockade, which was more prison than home. There was barbed wire around their camp, and armed guards to give them further protection. There was a strike, and they did not know it. They were clubbed by strikers because they worked, and then struck with the butt of guns when they refused to work.

That was the beginning of their life in America. Later I had a letter from the head of the family. I never answered it, for he called me a liar, and that hurt tremendously, because he was right. If I ever meet that man and find that he is not shouting "America First," whose fault will it be? If I find him in the welter of the I. W. W. who will be to blame?

To the forlorn and forbidding, alkali-burned southern edge of Colorado, came Greeks and Hungarians to dig coal. They were isolated from everything good and kept in touch with everything bad. Now, after a long strike for decent working conditions, they had been finally beaten into submission by a militia whose conduct was on the level of Russia's Cossacks. If they do not sing as lustily as we, "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty," whose fault is it?

And what of the children whose bodies are being bleached like lepers' in our cotton mills, or whose young frames as they bend over the breakers are shaken by tumbling coal, from which their nimble fingers pick the slate? What of the youths whose lungs are eaten by coal dust in the mines or by the lint which flies from the loom? If they are reluctant or unable to fight for their country, who will be responsible?

We talk much about the American home, which is even yet the basis of national well-being, although many of its functions are abrogated. The home still determines the good or ill of the child, and through him the good or ill of the nation. Yet we permit millions of people to work, with no chance to make a real home.

Children there will be, nature sees to that; but what kind of children can be begotten in our slums? . . .

The history of the United States since the Civil

War has not yet been written, for it is the story of an epoch just closing. It marks the sudden leaping of a people into wealth if not into power; the fabulous growth of cities, the end of the pioneer stage, the beginning of an industrial period, and the pressure of economic and social problems towards their solution.

At least twenty millions of people have come full grown into our national life from the steerage, the womb out of which so many of us were born into this newer life. Most of us came to build and not to destroy; we came as helpers and not exploiters; we brought virtues and vices, much good and ill, and that, not because we belonged to this or the other national or racial group, but because we were human.

It is as easy to prove that our coming meant the ill of the nation as that it meant its well-being. To appraise this fully is much too early; it is a task which must be left to our children's children, who will be as far removed from today's scant sympathies as from its overwhelming prejudices.

The great war has swung us into the current of world events, and it ought to bring us a larger vision of the forces and processes which shape the nations and make their peoples. As yet we are thinking hysterically rather than historically, and the indications are that we may not learn anything, nor yet unlearn, of which we have perhaps the greater need.

Thus far we have become narrower rather than

broader, for the feeling towards our alien population is growing daily less generous, and our treatment of it less wise.

Nor am I sure in what wisdom consists; the situation is complex; for we are the Balkan with its national, racial, and religious contentions. We are Russia with its ghetto, its Polish and Finnish problems. We are Austria and Hungary with their linguistic and dynastic difficulties. We are Africa and Asia; we are Jew and Gentile; we are Protestant and Greek and Roman Catholic. We are everything out of which to shape the one thing, the one nation, the one people.

Yet I am sure that we cannot teach these strangers the history of their adopted country, and make it their own, unless we teach them that our history is theirs as well as ours, and that their traditions are ours, at least as far as they touch humanity generally, and convey to all men the blessings which come from the struggle against oppression and superstition.

In their inherited national prejudices, in their racial hates, in their tribal quarrels, we wish to have no share, except as we hope to help them forget the old world hates in the new world's love.

None of us who have caught a vision of what America may mean to the world wish to perpetuate here any one phase of Europe's civilization or any one national ideal.

Although our institutions are rooted in English

history, though we speak England's language and share her rich heritage of spiritual and cultural wealth, we do not desire to be again a part of England, or nourish here her ideals of an aristocratic society.

In spite of the fact that for nearly three hundred years a large part of our population has been German, and that our richest cultural values have come from Germany, in spite of her marvelous resources in science, commerce, and government, we do not care to become German, and I am sure that Americans of German blood or birth would be the first to repudiate it, should Germany's civilization threaten to fasten itself upon us.

We do not wish to be Russian, in spite of certain values inherent in the Slavic character, nor do we desire to be French.

We do crave to be an American people, and develop here an American civilization; but if we are true to the manifold genius of our varied peoples, we may develop here a civilization, richer and freer than any one of these, based upon all of them, truly international and therefore American.

Historians tell us that the history of the United States illumines and illustrates the historic processes of all ages and all people.

To this they add the disconcerting prophecy that we are drifting towards the common goal, and that our doleful future can be readily foretold. We have had our hopeful morning, our swift and brilliant

noon, and now the dark and grewsome end threatens us.

I will not believe this till I must.

I will not, dare not lose the hope that we can make this country to endure firmly, to weather the storm, or at least put off the sensibility of old age to the last inevitable moment.

When, however, the end comes, as perhaps it must, I pray that we may project our hopes and ideals upon the last page of our history, so that it might read thus: This was a State, the first to grow by the conquest of nature, and not of nations. Here was develped a commerce based upon service, and not upon selfishness; a religion centering in humanity and not in a church.

Here was maintained sovereignty without a sovereign, and here the people of all nations grew into one nation, held together by mutual regard, not by the force of law.

Here the State was maintained by the justice, confidence, and loyalty of its people, and not by battleships and armaments. When it perished it was because the people had lost faith in God and in each other.

## (C.) HOW CAN I HELP REALIZE THEM?

1. *In the Land of "Just About."*
— CHARLES WAGNER

2. *A New Bill of Particulars.*
— WOODROW WILSON

3. *Wayside Kindness to an Alien Boy.*
— RICHARD SPILLANE

"A state can be no better than the citizens of which it is composed. Our labor now, is not to mould states but make citizens."

— JOHN MORLEY

# IN THE LAND OF "JUST ABOUT"

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I. A Tour of Inspection
1. Learning to observe
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II. The Land of "Just About"
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IV. How to be a Good Citizen
1. Do some honest work
2. Be positive, not negative.

# IN THE LAND OF "JUST ABOUT" *

By Charles Wagner

If every one does not like traveling because of the annoyances that go with it, there are nevertheless few people who do not enjoy accounts of travels. Children especially love to listen to stories of the adventures that happen to explorers in far-away and mysterious lands. Now I have just made a long trip through a territory inhabited by queer people, and I shall tell you what I saw.

I had often heard of the land of *Just About*. Concluding that the best way to get an idea of its inhabitants and their ways was to go to their country, I packed my grip, took some money, a stout stick, my watch, and a box of good-humor lozenges. These lozenges are an excellent thing to take when you are traveling, in case unpleasant circumstances should occur. If you leave them behind, you run the risk of having a dull time.

Crossing the country where two and two make four, where perpendicular lines stand erect on their horizontals, where noon is the middle of the day, where yes is yes and no is no, I arrived finally at a frontier.

* From *A travers le prisme du temps*, 1912.

To tell the truth, it was not a really, truly frontier. Indeed, nobody has ever found it possible to settle the boundary of the country of *Just About.* No one knows precisely where it begins or where it ends. This, too, is unfortunate, for the citizens of the land of *Just About,* not having very definite frontiers, are perpetually quarreling with their neighbors. They live with them on a footing which one cannot call a belligerent footing because they rarely have real wars, and for a very good reason. Their army only just about exists. Their military chiefs are generals, if you insist. But, after all, they are only sorts of generals who know just about how to command, and to counterbalance this are just about ignorant of strategy, geography, and everything that pertains to the art of war. They learned this art, after a fashion, in the schools. But everything in their schools being only half or three-quarters taught, the young officers who graduate from them are jokes. The soldiers they command are soldiers of the same type. Evidently they are what might be called soldiers, but they are just about drilled; their swords just about cut; their rifles shoot quasi-straight; and their powder is neither quite dry nor quite wet. Accordingly, when they have pointed their cannon and taken aim, so so, it cannot be said that the weapon always goes off, or that it always misses, that it hits or that it does not hit. All that is approximate. The only thing that one can fairly and squarely declare is

that every time this kind of an army has encountered the enemy it has met defeat. Those instances I have in mind now were only semi-serious.

In the land of *Just About* the children just about obey their parents. When they sit down at table, they have clean hands, by courtesy. They eat their soup, but they never eat it all; there is always a residue. They go to school and get there on time, or somewhere near it. Their bags are half-open, half-shut; their exercises are begun but not finished. When they write, they mind only three quarters of their P's and Q's. Most of their pages are clean, but not all of them. They know their lessons, but not entirely. When the teacher talks, they open one eye, and lend one ear. The other ear and the other eye are vaguely busy with various objects. When the inspector visits the school, he writes down the following comment: "Pupils almost good, or else they are almost bad. I could not very well pass on them." Upon leaving, he gives the teacher compliments which are all criticisms, if you take them that way, but the person who would say so is very subtle.

The joiners of the land of *Just About* make parquetry, doors, and windows, like all joiners. Only, when you watch them work you notice that they saw and plane just about straight. At a pinch you might say it was planing, for their edges are never true. The doors have slits in them, and the windows are neither open nor closed. The panes

blink on account of their uncertain angles, the parquet floors wave up and down, and the tables dance.

Their coopers make barrels, tubs, tuns, and troughs, but everything leaks. When you gaze into a looking-glass in the land of *Just About*, you are not absolutely sure whose face you see. Perhaps it is you, but it might also be your brother or your cousin. The portraits painted by the artists over there all have a vague resemblance to the originals.

The masons in the land of *Just About* have, like our masons, the plumb-line and the square, but no angle is a right angle, and no wall is perpendicular. Are they oblique? It could not be claimed so without exaggeration. And so the houses, the churches, and the markets are relatively substantial. Yes, the roof of a theater in a city of *Just About* did fall in lately. Still it must be admitted that only a part of it fell, and that the victims were only half-killed. The surgeons who answered the hurry call almost cured the patients and just about properly reset a certain number of fractured limbs.

The merchants in this weird country use scales, weights, and measures that are passably accurate. However, if you weigh your purchases when you get home, you are always just a little short. If they make change, you are sure to find some good coins, but rarely are they all good. At the grocer's the groceries are of medium quality. It would be doing these good people an injustice to say that they sell inferior products; but on the other hand it

would be wrong to call them high class. The shops have eggs that are nearly fresh. The meat, the fish, and the poultry are fresh, too, but of a questionable freshness. And this little adjective, which does not say enough and which says too much, is applicable to the honesty of these tradesmen as well as to the cleanliness of their shops.

If something out of the ordinary happens, anything like an accident, a fight, or an assassination, the police arrive neither soon enough nor too late. They take the evidence and make their report. It is very much like a horse when he is walking on three legs. At the courthouse witnesses are called. They are not very sure of what they have seen and heard; but they take good care not to say they have not seen or heard anything. Do they tell the truth? They certainly do; but they keep back a part of it. Once the speeches of counsel are finished, the judges pass a sentence in which they lump things. Consequently most of the time when there is a lawsuit on hand, they never finish it. They do not succeed in proving the facts or in declaring who is right and who is wrong.

I made a point of noticing the women of the country. But if you were to ask me whether they are beautiful or ugly, I should be very much perplexed. If you said they were ugly, you would be slandering them; if you said they were beautiful, you would be flattering them shamefully. If you want to find out from me whether these women are graceful,

active, good housekeepers, intelligent, and virtuous, I really should be at a loss to answer. They do everything the way they sweep and knit. How do they sweep and knit? This way: they sweep in the middle of the room, but not in the corners. When they knit, they drop stitches. As a result the little out-of-the-way corners of their houses are dirty, and their stockings have holes.

What kind of food did I find on my trip? Neither good nor bad. Did I have cool things to drink? I cannot truthfully say so. Were the drinks tepid, then? No, I have no right to assert it positively, or to complain in consequence, for their water, their wine, and their beer are neither warm nor cold.

And they themselves are neither warm nor cold. From the government and executive officials down to the families and private individuals in the land of *Just About,* nothing is frank or up and down or squarely asserted.

What ought to be thought of such a country? Nothing bad, nothing good. But that in itself is not good. It is bad, very bad indeed. What is a half-knowledge, a half-skill, a half-truth, a half-honesty? It is sometimes worse than the absence of knowledge, skill, or honesty. Give me the out-and-out rascals, liars who have the courage of their lies. These are preferable. At least one knows what to expect. Let us be wholly what we are. Let us do wholly what we have to do. Do not let us ever be satisfied with the "just about." At any

rate nothing is so irritating as the "just about." I learned something of it over there. I left just in time. So much indecision and fickleness and equivocation drove me beside myself, and you could fairly see my good-humor lozenges melt.

# A NEW BILL OF PARTICULARS

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# A NEW BILL OF PARTICULARS*

By Woodrow Wilson

We are assembled to celebrate the one hundred and thirty-eighth anniversary of the birth of the United States. I suppose that we can more vividly realize the circumstances of that birth standing on this historic spot than it would be possible to realize them anywhere else. The Declaration of Independence was written in Philadelphia; it was adopted in this historic building by which we stand. I have just had the privilege of sitting in the chair of the great man who presided over the deliberations of those who gave the Declaration to the world. My hand rests at this moment upon the table upon which the Declaration was signed. We can feel that we are almost in the visible and tangible presence of a great historic transaction.

. . . The Declaration of Independence . . . is not a Fourth of July oration. The Declaration of Independence was a document preliminary to war. . . . It consists of a series of definite specifications concerning actual public business of the day . . . the business of that first revolution by which the Nation was set up, the business of 1776.

* Address at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, July 4, 1914.

Its general statements, its general declarations can not mean anything to us unless we append to it a similar specific body of particulars as to what we consider the essential business of our own day.

Liberty does not consist, my fellow citizens, in mere general declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite action . . . into the terms of our own conditions and of our own lives.

The task to which we have constantly to re-address ourselves is the task of proving that we are worthy of the men who drew this great Declaration and know what they would have done in our circumstances. Patriotism consists in some very practical things — practical in that they belong to the life of every day. The way to be patriotic in America is not only to love America but to love the duty that lies nearest to our hand and know that in performing it we are serving our country. . . . The members of House and Senate who stay in hot Washington to maintain a quorum of the Houses and transact the all-important business of the Nation are doing an act of patriotism. I honor them for it, and I am glad to stay there and stick by them until the work is done.

It is patriotic, also, to learn what the facts of our national life are and to face them with candor. . . . I find some people insisting that everything is going wrong and others insisting that everything is going right, and when I know from a wide ob-

servation of the general circumstances of the country taken as a whole that things are going extremely well, I wonder what those who are crying out that things are wrong are trying to do. . . . And why do they cry that everything is wrong and yet do nothing to set it right. If they love America and anything is wrong amongst us, it is their business to put their hand with ours to the task of setting it right.

. . . It was universally admitted . . . that the banking system of this country needs reorganization. We set the best minds that we could find to the task of discovering the best method of reorganization. But we met with hardly anything but criticism from the bankers of the country . . . (and) resistance from the majority of those at least who spoke at all concerning the matter. And yet so soon as the act was passed there was a universal chorus of applause, and the very men who had opposed the measure joined in that applause. . . .

It is not patriotic to concert measures against one another; it is patriotic to concert measures for one another.

In one sense the Declaration of Independence has lost its significance . . . as a declaration of national independence. Nobody outside of America believed when it was uttered that we could make good our independence; now nobody anywhere would dare to doubt that we are independent and can maintain our independence. As a declaration

of independence, therefore, it is a mere historic document. Our independence is a fact so stupendous that it can be measured only by the size and energy and variety and wealth and power of one of the greatest nations in the world. But it is one thing to be independent, and it is another thing to know what to do with your independence. It is one thing to come to your majority and another thing to know what you are going to do with your life and your energies; and one of the most serious questions for sober-minded men to address themselves to in the United States is this: What are we going to do with the influence and power of this great Nation? Are we going to play the old rôle of using that power for our aggrandizement and material benefit only? You know what that may mean. It may upon occasion mean that we shall use it to make the people of other nations suffer in the way in which we said it was intolerable to suffer when we uttered our Declaration of Independence.

The Department of State at Washington is constantly called upon to back up the commercial enterprises and the industrial enterprises of the United States in foreign countries, and it at one time went so far in that direction that all its diplomacy came to be designated as "dollar diplomacy." It was called upon to support every man who wanted to earn anything anywhere if he was an American. But there ought to be a limit to that. There is

no man who is more interested than I am in carrying the enterprise of American business men to every quarter of the globe. I was interested in it long before I was suspected of being a politician. I have been preaching it year after year as a great thing that lay in the future for the United States, to show her wit and skill and enterprise and influence in every country in the world. But observe the limit to all that which is laid upon us perhaps more than upon any other nation in the world. We set this Nation up, at any rate we professed to set it up, to vindicate the rights of men. We did not name any differences between one race and another. We did not set up any barriers against any particular people. We opened our gates to all the world and said, "Let all men who wish to be free come to us and they will be welcome." We said, "This independence of ours is not a selfish thing for our own exclusive private use. It is for everybody to whom we can find the means of extending it." We can not with that oath taken in our youth, we can not with that great ideal set before us when we were a young people and numbered only a scant three million, take upon ourselves, now that we are one hundred million strong, any other conception of duty than we then entertained. If American enterprise in foreign countries, particularly in those foreign countries which are not strong enough to resist us, takes the shape of imposing upon and exploiting the mass of the people of that country,

it is to be checked and not encouraged. I am willing to get anything for an American that money and enterprise can obtain except the suppression of the rights of other men. I will not help any man buy power which he ought not to exercise over his fellow beings.

You know, my fellow countrymen, what a big question there is in Mexico. Eighty-five per cent of the Mexican people have never been allowed to have any genuine participation in their own Government, or to exercise any substantial rights with regard to the very land they live upon. All the rights that men most desire have been exercised by the other fifteen per cent. Do you suppose that that circumstance is not sometimes in my thought? I know that the American people have a heart that will beat just as strong for those millions in Mexico as it will beat, or has beaten, for any other millions elsewhere in the world, and that when once they conceive what is at stake in Mexico they will know what ought to be done in Mexico. I hear a great deal said about the loss of property in Mexico, and the loss of lives of foreigners, and I deplore these things with all my heart. Undoubtedly, upon the conclusion of the present disturbed conditions in Mexico those who have been unjustly deprived of their property, or in any wise unjustly put upon, ought to be compensated. Men's individual rights have no doubt been invaded, and the invasion of those rights has been attended by many deplorable

circumstances which ought sometime, in the proper way, to be accounted for. But back of it all is the struggle of a people to come into its own, and while we look upon the incidents in the foreground let us not forget the great tragic reality in the background which towers above the whole picture.

A patriotic American is a man who is not niggardly and selfish in the things that he enjoys that make for human liberty and the rights of man. He wants to share them with the whole world, and he is never so proud of the great flag under which he lives as when it comes to mean to other people, as well as to himself, a symbol of hope and liberty. I would be ashamed of this flag if it did anything outside America that we would not permit it to do inside of America.

The world is becoming more complicated every day, my fellow citizens. No man ought to be foolish enough to think that he understands it all. And, therefore, I am glad that there are some simple things in the world. One of the simple things is principle. Honesty is a perfectly simple thing. It is hard for me to believe that in most circumstances when a man has a choice of ways he does not know which is the right way and which is the wrong way. No man who has chosen the wrong way ought even to come into Independence Square; it is holy ground which he ought not to tread upon. He ought not to come where immortal voices have uttered the great sentences of such a document as this Declaration

of Independence upon which rests the liberty of a whole nation.

And so I say that it is patriotic sometimes to prefer the honor of the country to its material interest. Would you rather be deemed by all the nations of the world incapable of keeping your treaty obligations in order that you might have free tolls for American ships? The treaty under which we gave up the right may have been a mistaken treaty, but there was no mistake about its meaning.

When I have made a promise as a man I try to keep it, and I know of no other rule permissible to a nation. The most distinguished nation in the world is the nation that can and will keep its promises even to its own hurt. And I want to say . . . that I do not think anybody was hurt. I cannot be enthusiastic for subsidies to a monopoly, but let those who are enthusiastic for subsidies ask themselves whether they prefer subsidies to unsullied honor.

The most patriotic man, ladies and gentlemen, is sometimes the man who goes in the direction that he thinks right even when he sees half the world against him. It is the dictate of patriotism to sacrifice yourself if you think that that is the path of honor and of duty. Do not blame others if they do not agree with you. Do not die with bitterness in your heart because you did not convince the rest of the world, but die happy because you believe that you tried to serve your country by not selling your

soul. Those were grim days, the days of 1776. Those gentlemen did not attach their names to the Declaration of Independence on this table expecting a holiday on the next day, and that Fourth of July was not itself a holiday. They attached their signatures to that significant document, knowing that if they failed, it was certain that every one of them would hang for the failure. They were committing treason in the interest of the liberty of 3,000,000 people in America. All the rest of the world was against them and smiled with cynical incredulity at the audacious undertaking. Do you think that if they could see this great Nation now they would regret anything that they then did to draw the gaze of a hostile world upon them? Every idea must be started by somebody, and it is a lonely thing to start anything. Yet if it is in you, you must start it if you have a man's blood in you and if you love the country that you profess to be working for.

I am sometimes very much interested when I see gentlemen supposing that popularity is the way to success in America. The way to success in this great country, with its fair judgments, is to show that you are not afraid of anybody except God and His final verdict. If I did not believe that, I would not believe in democracy. If I did not believe that, I would not believe that people can govern themselves. If I did not believe that the moral judgment would be the last judgment, the final judgment, in the minds of men as well as the tribunal of God, I

could not believe in popular government. But I do believe these things and, therefore, I earnestly believe in the democracy not only of America but of every awakened people that wishes and intends to govern and control its own affairs.

It is very inspiring, my friends, to come to this that may be called the original fountain of independence and liberty in America, and here drink draughts of patriotic feeling which seem to renew the very blood in one's veins. Down in Washington sometimes when the days are hot and the business presses intolerably and there are so many things to do that it does not seem possible to do anything in the way it ought to be done, it is always possible to lift one's thought above the task of the moment and, as it were, to realize that great thing of which we are all parts, the great body of American feeling and American principle. No man could do the work that has to be done in Washington if he allowed himself to be separated from that body of principle. He must make himself feel that he is a part of the people of the United States, that he is trying to think not only for them, but with them, and then he can not feel lonely. He not only can not feel lonely but he can not feel afraid of anything.

My dream is that as the years go on and the world knows more and more of America it will also drink at these fountains of youth and renewal; that it also will turn to America for those moral inspirations

which lie at the basis of all freedom; that the world will never fear America unless it feels that it is engaged in some enterprise which is inconsistent with the rights of humanity; and that America will come into the full light of the day when all shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights and that her flag is the flag not only of America but of humanity.

What other great people has devoted itself to this exalted ideal? To what other nation in the world can all eyes look for an instant sympathy that thrills the whole body politic when men anywhere are fighting for their rights? I do not know that there will ever be a declaration of independence and of grievances for mankind, but I believe that if any such document is ever drawn it will be drawn in the spirit of the American Declaration of Independence, and that America has lifted high the light which will shine unto all generations and guide the feet of mankind to the goal of justice and liberty and peace.

# WAYSIDE KINDNESS TO AN ALIEN BOY

## AN ILLUSTRATION

The two preceding articles state guiding principles of great value to the practice of America's ideals. First, that to do one's work well, whatever kind it may be, is a national service; Second, that it is necessary to make a new concrete bill of particulars, if the ideals of our Declaration are to have any meaning for the nation today. In succeeding volumes of this Series Part III will consist of brief descriptions of the ways in which individuals and communities have put America's ideals into practice. The following story is suggested as one of the types needed for the purpose.

# WAYSIDE KINDNESS TO AN ALIEN BOY

By Richard Spillane

After an address by a newspaper man on "The State of the Union" at the Meridian Club on Tuesday night, there was a general discussion. The newspaper man had declared much of our troubles of today in the labor field and otherwise came from our mistreatment or misunderstanding of the immigrant. He said it might not be pleasant to acknowledge it but it was true that we looked down upon the immigrant and permitted him to grope his way or be the prey of those who had no sympathy for him.

In our derision we classed newcomers as "kikes" or "wops" and such, and did not appreciate how, by our attitude, we bred ill-feeling and a sense of injustice which grew and grew with every new indignity and wrong, and which found expression sometimes in strikes or other outbreaks which were little more than blind efforts to vent upon the employer, the most vulnerable person they could reach, punishment for all the ill-feeling that had been increasing year by year.

One of those present told a story of what kindness and human sympathy had done in the case of an immigrant child.

He said he had been walking in Broad Street one day and saw a crowd. When he approached the gathering he found two boys fighting. One was much smaller than the other, and when the big boy struck the little fellow a heavy blow the gentleman forced his way through the fringe of men and got between the boys.

The men ordered him to let them fight it out. The gentleman told them they were cowards to permit a big, strong boy to beat up a little one. Meanwhile, the little fellow begged to be permitted to continue the battle. "I have to fight him," he said. But the gentleman pulled the boy out of the crowd despite the child's pleas and tears. A little later the lad told the gentleman his story.

He was the sole support of his mother and he sold chewing gum on Broad Street. The big boy had invaded his territory and would not permit him to sell to his customers, so, although the big fellow had beaten him repeatedly, he was fighting in the desperate hope that he might win back the right to earn a living.

The gentleman took the child to a restaurant, bought something for him to eat, got the name and address of the boy's mother and that night took the child to his home. The gentleman determined to be a Big Brother to the boy and the gentleman's wife determined to be a Big Sister to the child's mother.

The boy had much to learn. His table manners

were not above reproach. Some of his ideas were wrong, but he always had a friend in the gentleman and always a welcome in the gentleman's home.

Today that boy is a $2500-a-year man in Philadelphia and has his mother installed in an excellent home. What might his lot have been but for that gentleman's interference in the fight in Broad Street? The gentleman said that in the fourteen years since he first saw that child he had not spent more than $10 on him, but he had given to him something far, far better — friendship.

That immigrant boy has been made a fine, upstanding American citizen by one man's act.

Good citizens are the bulwarks of the nation. Every man and every woman can assist in their making through acts of kindness, justice and human sympathy.

## PART III

## A PROGRAM OF ACTION

1. *The Creative Power of Ideas*
2. *The Best Method of Voting*
3. *An Education for Every Child*
4. *Schoolhouses Available for Use*
5. *Community Centers in Operation*

"No men can act with effect who do not act in concert; no men can act in concert who do not act with confidence; no men can act with confidence, who are not bound together by common opinions, common affections and common interests."

— Edmund Burke

Reproduction of the emblem of Citizenship presented by the city of London to President Wilson, December 28, 1918, in the Guild Hall. The original is five times larger than this reproduction.

See page 45.

# A PROGRAM OF ACTION

## 1. The Creative Power of Ideas

"An unacted thought is a sin," said Mazzini. The great Italian patriot regarded a thought as only half an act. The other half is the deed corresponding to it. Mazzini is right. In every field of endeavor the two indispensable factors are a clear conception of a worthy purpose and the invention of a method for its progressive realization. These constitute the two parts of one whole, like the two sides of a shield.

By riveting these two elements together in our thought, we will value each at its true worth and avoid the tendency towards extremes. A common blunder made by "practical" Americans is to overemphasize the value of deeds by underrating the value of ideals. "We don't know where we're going, but we're on the way," is a current phrase expressing this misleading and harmful tendency. Unless we know where we're going, there is little prospect of success in getting there. Without a worthy purpose, the greater the activity the more is the damage done; at the most, we will have motion but no progress, like a swinging door. A nation is to be judged not so much by what it does, as by what

it admires, what it aims at, what its ideals are. If its aim is worthwhile, its approximations to it will have value. If not, its achievements will be less than worthless, whatever they are.

As Citizenship Clubs undertake to plan a program of action, it is, therefore, essential for them to see clearly that a year spent in the study of America's ideals, as here suggested, is of primary importance. Indeed, it is the better half of their preparation for citizenship, because it creatively determines the quality of all their other activities. In their thought they should regard the process of clarifying their ideals as at least on the same level with an external deed. The process is itself a deed of the first order.

It is true that the weekly meeting of the club is a talk-meeting, that is, a parliament. But all great achievements began in talk. The men who have most profoundly affected human activity and the course of history, men like Confucius, Jesus and Lincoln, were all great talkers. Among many more of a like nature, there are three American speeches, which were themselves deeds as great as any battles, and greater. They were made by Samuel Adams in Faneuil Hall, Boston, by Patrick Henry to the General Convention of Virginia, and by Abraham Lincoln on the battle-field of Gettysburg. Their dynamic words were trumpet calls to high achievement and indispensable to it.

In his Gettysburg speech Lincoln's modesty led

him to make one big obvious mistake. He said that no words he uttered there would long be remembered, whereas the fact is that his words seem destined to outlive the memory of the battle. His memorable words are being cast in bronze and hung in innumerable schoolhouses throughout the country. Indeed, it is not improbable that the time may come when it will be necessary to subjoin a footnote to his speech in order to inform the people concerning the name of the battlefield on which it was uttered. The value of acquiring clear ideals through study and discussion is here stressed lest Citizenship Clubs be led astray or become discouraged by someone's remark that they spend so much time not in doing something but only in talking about it. They ought to be ready with a quick answer to such superficial criticism by saying that the profoundest need in America at the present time is for bold and clear thinking. To think clearly is hard work; try it and see.

It is hoped, however, that there will be no need for criticism or defense, because the question as to the relative importance of words and deeds, of the contemplative and active life, is not debatable. It ought not to be discussed at all. It is not a question of "either — or," but of "both — and." We must have both. If they are like the two sides of the same shield, it should be obvious that we can't have a shield with one side only.

"It takes a soul
To move a body; it takes a high-souled man
To move the masses even to a cleaner stye;
It takes the ideal to blow an inch inside
The dust of the actual."

The work undertaken by Citizenship Clubs to assist in preparing for themselves a book on organized national ideals is a task with challenge in it, a deed with the merit of real achievement in it. It is their first practical activity, but it is not enough. It is a means to an end. The function of ideals is to effect a change in things. An ideal is a picture of things as they ought to be. It, therefore, condemns things as they are. But it would not condemn them unless it believed them capable of improvement. We never condemn that in which we do not believe. If a man is not capable of something better, he could not be condemned for what he is. The characteristic of an ideal, therefore, is that it at once makes a point of contact with things as they are, and furnishes inspiration for their improvement. Its feet are on the ground and its head is in the air, which is where both head and feet should be.

To indicate how inter-related are ideals and actions, two activities are suggested at this point for Citizenship Clubs. It would be hard to determine whether to classify them under a study of ideals or a program of action. They belong to both.

(*a*) The first refers to our Federal Constitution.

It is reproduced in the Appendix, not only that it may be available for ready reference, but also for a special purpose. In the process of acquiring a truer understanding of its provisions, it is suggested that a comparative study be made of the constitutions of other nations, those adopted previous to ours and those adopted since. In such a study particular attention should be paid to the historical circumstances out of which each constitution grew. This approach will illuminate many perplexing questions. For example, why our Constitution makes no mention of so vital a subject in a democracy as education, and why other constitutions, made since then, do stress this subject. The historical and comparative study is the wise and intelligent method of determining what improvements, if any, our Constitution needs.

(*b*) The second refers to our Declaration of Independence. In placing it in the Appendix, only its principles are printed. The bill of particulars is omitted, because they have no meaning for the nation's needs today. This is done to suggest that Citizenship Clubs prepare a new bill of particulars, as a concrete illustration of the Declaration's principles. It will be the best method for securing an understanding of them. I am not aware that any new bill of particulars for present human needs has ever been prepared. But obviously there could be no better exercise in preparation for citizenship. The Declaration contains the charter prin-

ciples of the nation's freedom. It was not intended to be kept in a mummy case among the nation's relics, but in the market place among the nation's living men. Except to idle curiosity, it becomes useless as an object of study unless it is capable of continuous application. An ideal must be forever transforming itself into a deed or it will die. The natural desire of every citizen is to regard his country with the passion of religious devotion. Nothing dampens his devotion so readily as the betrayal of his nation's ideals; nothing stimulates it so certainly as the practice of them.

The two exercises here suggested are not only fascinating studies, but they are studies which merge into action. They furnish the process by which members of Citizenship Clubs may discover and formulate their own program of action. It will equip them, when they come into full citizenship, to help their country to be true to itself and improve upon its already noble record of achievement.

After Citizenship Clubs acquire a great ideal, it does not mean that their task is finished; it means that their task is properly revealed. It is not enough to know what to do. Our next unescapable question is how to do it. Every "what" implies a "how." The acid test of America is the degree to which her ideals are put into effective operation in local communities. Therefore, the course of training for citizenship here suggested consists of two

activities, the process of acquiring right ideals, and also the practical application of them.

In suggesting a program of action for Citizenship Clubs, it is the writer's deep conviction that their initiative should be stimulated and not suppressed. The cardinal idea of this training course is that it is a process of self-activity. We adults could no doubt make better plans for them than they could make for themselves, but then they would not be theirs, and their interest would not be enlisted. A superabundance of plans have been devised in Washington and New York *for* the people of the nation, but for the most part they have rolled off the people like water off a duck's back. The people's capacity for surviving these plans is astonishing. Such plans have suffered shipwreck because they were operated *for* the people instead of *with* them. Not autocracy, but democracy is the efficient principle.

Nevertheless, young people do need guidance and suggestion, because the task of operating America's ideals is complex. To know what needs to be done is not so difficult. The difficult thing is how to do it. "If," said the shrewd Portia, "to do were as easy as to know what were good to do, chapels had been churches and poor men's cottages princes' palaces." For this reason it will be safe and helpful to suggest definite kinds of activities to the clubs, and yet leave a large margin of freedom for their own initiative. Young people have initiative, all

they need is a chance to exercise it. Frequently they have been compelled to leave old backward-looking communities to search for this chance in newer places. Citizenship Clubs challenge them to use their initiative in their home communities. A great variety of services will suggest themselves to meet the needs peculiar to each community. No detailed program could be made to meet this type of need for all.

While allowing a large scope of freedom to meet the special needs of particular communities, there are many activities needed in all communities alike. One has already been described in detail. It is the study course in citizenship, and ought to be counted first on the list. In addition to this, the writer will suggest three special activities which he would urge every club in the country to undertake. They are simple, definite, and big. He will then suggest a general program of action permanently valuable and needed alike in every section of America, whether it be city, village, or countryside.

### 2. The Best Method of Voting

The first item on the program of action suggested for a Citizenship Club is the task of putting the ballot-box in the schoolhouse. Clubs should design and make, or get designed and made, a ballot-box and voting machinery, which shall be both beautiful and suitable for the purpose, and

then have it permanently installed in the schoolhouse, so that it may occupy in the community's thought a place befitting its importance. This is a task, simple and definite and also vastly significant.

The ballot-box is our nation's distinguishing symbol of citizenship. It is a sacred emblem. The symbol of the Hebrew Republic was a small box made of acacia wood and covered with gold. It contained the Republic's constitution and was given an honored place in the Temple at the nation's capital. It was called the Ark of the Covenant. The corresponding emblem in America is the ballot-box, and is every whit as sacred. When we consider that it stands for the enfranchisement of the average man and that back of this achievement lie centuries of struggle and bloodshed, and when we consider that it is our orderly method of securing needed improvement in social, political, and industrial conditions affecting human well-being, it is clear that it acquires a sacred character.

Even a little thought about its use and meaning makes it obvious that the ballot-box should have a worthy physical setting. It is evident that we have not yet given the subject a little thought. In the last presidential election President Wilson voted at Princeton in a fire-house and Candidate Hughes voted at New York in a laundry. The writer last summer visited a town, whose polling-place was a jail, and another town in which the election was

conducted in an undertaker's shop, where the voting was probably on dead issues. A laundry, a barber-shop, any kind of an old place has hitherto been regarded as a fit enough place for the discharge of the highest act of citizenship.

This is wrong, as wrong as it can well be. It is wrong, even when considered on its lowest basis. It is economically wasteful. When we already own schoolhouses conveniently located in every community, why waste public funds in renting other buildings? This is a sufficient reason for using the schoolhouse as a polling place, but not the highest, for money is the least important factor in the public welfare. I said just now that the voting instrument should be kept *permanently* in the schoolhouse, not erected for one day's use alone. This suggests an additional reason for placing it in the schoolhouse. It could then be used as an extra-curriculum study, to teach children how to use it. No boy or girl ought ever to leave even a grammar-grade school without knowing how to use our voting machinery.

These are sufficient reasons, but the chief reason for giving the ballot-box an honored place is to accentuate its importance as the method of reason instead of force, used by democracies in achieving improvements in human conditions. From the standpoint of its ideal and human uses, the one most fitting of all places for the ballot-box is the Temple of American democracy — the free public

schoolhouse — the capitol building of each local community. It is hoped that Citizenship Clubs will undertake this simple and significant reform with a determination that will balk at no obstacle in the way of its achievement.

In this connection Citizenship Clubs should aim to inform themselves concerning every element in the voting process. I mean not only the best mechanical methods of voting and counting the votes. I refer to the best methods of making the vote count for justice and the common welfare, methods like Preferential Voting and Proportional Representation. In a democracy due regard for minorities has paramount value. For the sake of the general welfare Proportional Representation is a reform second to almost none in practical importance.

It is obviously useless to consider these advanced and needed reforms until citizens first learn to prize the privilege and duty of voting. If Citizenship Clubs will erect the voting machinery with architectural dignity, and place it in the schoolhouse — preferably in the foyer — permanently in the view of all, it will be a constant reminder of the central importance of the act of voting. The large number of citizens, who have this privilege, but who fail to exercise it, is nothing short of amazing. It is worse than that. The citizen, in a country like ours, who habitually fails to vote is a slacker, an unpatriotic egotist. He has abrogated his manhood. He has

voluntarily made himself a man without a country and does not merit its protection. He has no right to complain of the tax rate, or any public policy in operation. But he is usually the first to criticize. The proper answer to his criticism is to disfranchise him.

The apparently severe language here used may seem to some an unwarranted condemnation. Do the facts justify it? If failure to use the franchise is so general, is it not a cause of serious public concern? It is. The facts are such as to challenge all thoughtful citizens. In order to support this challenge with ascertained facts, the writer addressed a questionnaire to every city with as much as 100,000 population, and to one typical rural county in each State.

The questionnaire contained the following three questions:

1. How many citizens of your city were entitled to register and vote, and how many failed to do so in the last presidential election?
2. How many were entitled to register and vote, and how many on an average failed to do so in your last three municipal elections?
3. According to your records what type, or types, of citizens chiefly failed to vote?

The tabulated results are as follows:

## VOTERS WHO DO NOT VOTE. — URBAN

| CITIES | NATIONAL ELECTION | | Per Cent | LOCAL ELECTION | | Per Cen |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Registered | Voted | | Registered | Voted | |
| Boston, Mass. | 117,425 | 99,034 | 84 | 115,385 | 57,900 | 50 |
| Bridgeport, Conn. | 21,687 | 19,740 | 91 | 21,870 | 17,268 | 79 |
| Cambridge, Mass. | 17,588 | 14,967 | 82 | 16,418 | 10,784 | 62 |
| Chicago, Ill. | 808,475 | 776,754 | 96 | 721,100 | 439,669 | 60 |
| Cleveland, Ohio. | 115,891 | 111,138 | 97 | 117,535 | 109,728 | 93 |
| Columbus, Ohio. | 51,671 | 49,390 | 96 | 47,353 | 43,668 | 91 |
| Dallas, Texas. | 15,000 | 10,000 | 66 | 15,000 | 12,000 | 80 |
| Denver, Colorado. | 95,403 | 69,890 | 72 | 71,643 | 42,275 | 59 |
| Des Moines, Io. | 20,000 | 18,000 | 90 | 20,000 | 13,000 | 65 |
| Detroit, Mich. | 139,551 | 116,697 | 83 | 153,349 | 59,077 | 38 |
| Fall River, Mass. | 17,147 | 14,625 | 82 | 16,824 | 12,351 | 75 |
| Houston, Texas. | 20,000 | "negligible | 00 | 20,000 | 9,200 | 45 |
| Los Angeles, Cal. | 224,280 | 168,899 | 75 | 189,924 | 101,330 | 53 |
| Lynn, Mass. | 18,330 | 13,725 | 72 | 18,300 | 13,725 | 72 |
| Milwaukee, Wis. | 80,884 | 69,069 | 85 | 78,235 | 66,069 | 84 |
| Newark, N. J. | 60,347 | 57,616 | 95 | 45,727 | 41,543 | 91 |
| New Bedford, Mass. | 15,000 | 12,085 | 80 | 15,000 | 10,293 | 66 |
| New Haven, Conn. | 27,874 | 24,491 | 88 | 26,975 | 20,513 | 76 |
| Richmond, Va. | 31,740 | 9,095 | 29 | 31,346 | 8,672 | 25 |
| San Francisco, Cal. | 182,276 | 155,747 | 85 | 182,746 | 50,914 | 27 |
| Spokane, Wash. | 38,421 | 32,614 | 84 | 29,400 | 17,898 | 58 |
| Syracuse, N. Y. | 35,797 | 34,319 | 97 | 34,583 | 31,529 | 91 |
| Worcester, Mass. | 27,629 | 18,204 | 66 | 28,741 | 20,275 | 71 |
| Baltimore, Buffalo, Pittsburgh } ? | 173,760 | 162,170 | 93 | 158,131 | 102,999 | 64 |
| Average percentage of registered voters, who voted in a national election | | | 78 | Average percentage of registered voters who voted in local elections | | 65 |

CITIZENS ENTITLED TO REGISTER BUT FAIL TO DO SO

| | Legal Voters | Registered | Voted | Slackers | Per Cent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Boston, Mass. | 160,342 | 117,425 | 99,034 | 61,308 | 38 |
| Cambridge, Mass. | 29,455 | 17,588 | 14,967 | 14,488 | 48 |
| Chicago, Ill. | 1,483,113 | 808,475 | 776,754 | 706,359 | 47 |
| Fall River, Mass. | 33,997 | 17,147 | 14,625 | 19,372 | 57 |
| Houston, Tex. | 40,000 | 20,000 | 9,200 | 10,800 | 25 |
| Lynn, Mass. | 29,000 | 18,300 | 13,725 | 15,275 | 51 |
| New Bedford, Mass. | 23,904 | 15,000 | 12,085 | 8,904 | 35 |
| Syracuse, N. Y. | 40,807 | 35,797 | 32,227 | 8,580 | 20 |
| Berkshire Co., Mass. | 25,982 | 23,259 | 18,789 | 7,193 | 27 |
| | | | Average percentage of legal voters who voted | | 38 |

Most cities and counties have a record only of those voters who register. They have no way of knowing the number of their citizens who are entitled to register and vote. But 8 cities and 1 county furnished this information. It is stated in the table on the opposite page and is highly significant:

VOTERS WHO DO NOT VOTE.—RURAL

| Counties | Registered | Voted | Per Cent |
|---|---|---|---|
| San Joaquin, Calif. | 26,000 | 20,000 | 76 |
| Marshall, Iowa | 6,800 | 6,400 | 94 |
| Berkshire, Mass. | 23,259 | 18,789 | 80 |
| Clearfield, Pa. | 19,351 | 13,299 | 68 |
| Lincoln, S. D. | 3,507 | 1,626 | 45 |
| Limestone, Texas | 7,203 | 2,527 | 34 |
| Braxton, W. Va. | 6,300 | 4,183 | 66 |
| | Average percentage of registered voters who voted in a national election | | 66 |

It will be observed that it takes a presidential election to bring out as large a vote in country districts, as a local election does in the cities. Is it lack of interest or lack of good roads? It will also be observed that a national election always polls a heavier vote than a local election. Is this due to a lack of interest in the commonplace questions of the home soil or do far-off hills look green? But the challenging fact is that so large a proportion of legal voters do not vote at all.

This brief survey of only 8 cities and one county reveals the shocking fact that only 38 per cent of those entitled to vote exercise the privilege. From this survey it is a safe and conservative conclusion to draw that probably not more than 50 per cent of the citizens exercise the duty and privilege of the franchise. What is the explanation of this astonishing fact?

| | Percentage |
|---|---|
| Of registered urban voters who vote in national elections | 78 per cent |
| Of registered rural voters who vote in national elections | 66 per cent |
| Of registered urban voters who vote in local elections | 65 per cent |
| Of those entitled to register and vote, who do so.. | 38 per cent |

This condition of things is doubly disturbing when we consider the additional fact that it appears to be steadily growing worse. The registrar of San Francisco, Mr. J. H. Zemansky, has compiled for the Rotary Club of his city, a complete record of the electors who registered and voted in every election during the last forty years. The percentage of registered electors who voted

From 1878 to 1888 was 78 per cent
From 1890 to 1899 was 65 per cent
From 1900 to 1909 was 53 per cent
From 1910 to 1919 was 52 per cent

This marked decline of interest on the part of electors in the duty of voting from 78% to 52%

is a challenging revelation. For the really significant fact about a nation is not chiefly its present position, but the direction in which it is moving. It is altogether fitting that the Rotary Club requested its Civic Committee to make an investigation of this downward tendency.

In answer to the third question in the questionnaire, as to the type of citizens who usually fail to vote, the answers were various and inconclusive. But a few answers were so pointed in the same direction as to be highly suggestive, to say the least. They are as follows:

"Business and professional men failed to vote."

"In the opinion of our registrars of voters, the American born are the more careless in this respect."

"There are fully as many absentees from the voting booth on the part of native Americans as of any other class."

"Personally I believe the so-called 'better element' vote about 50 per cent of the men."

"Some of our so-called American wards show a decided lack of interest in going to the polls."

"I believe it to be an uncontrovertible statement that the women voters as a body give very much more attention and more intelligent consideration to men and measures than do the male voters."

"I should say that the so-called good citizen, including the merchant, the business man and the professional man, is most negligent in this respect. At three o'clock in the afternoon of a recent election day, a poll of 15 men was taken in a business men's club, only three of whom had voted."

"I would judge that in most cases the man who does not vote is the one who could vote intelligently if he were not too busy to go to the polls."

The causes for this decided neglect of public duty are no doubt many and complex. Is it due in part to the psychological tendency that after we achieve a right we lose interest in it; that interest is sustained while striving for a goal, but suspended when it is reached? Is it due in part to the fact that some men are so absorbed in their own selfish business interests that they neglect the public interest; that with them private profit is paramount to public service? Is it because some feel that they have no ballot-box, that in the two major parties the nominations are made by partisan machines, and that the ballot box does not afford them a chance to express their political convictions? Is it because some feel that the ballot-box has ceased to be an effective instrument, that political democracy has failed to create a satisfactory social order and that they are spending their efforts in the attempt to produce an industrial democracy as the effective way of securing a better social order?

These are profoundly interesting inquiries. Whatever the causes for the neglect of the ballot-box, it is essential to the nation's welfare that they should be ascertained and removed. Our greatest national need is to visualize the public interest and make it paramount. The ballot box is one of our sacred and visible symbols of the public interest, and the democratic method of securing orderly reforms. Citizenship Clubs should address themselves to the task of stimulating its wider use.

They should at least keep a continuously correct card-catalogue of all citizens in their districts entitled to register and vote. They would thus perform a neglected public duty and it would likewise be the beginning of many reforms in our defective census system. Such a record would in itself help stimulate the thoughtless, the tired and the selfish citizen to perform his duty as a voter.

It is only fair to say that such neglect is partly due to his thoughtlessness. The voter who fails to vote would no doubt be shocked to be told that he is a traitor to himself if not to his country. He simply does not realize the meaning of his selfishness. To give the ballot-box an honored place in the community's most useful public building will help decidedly to give this type of citizen a social conscience and a sense of obligation to his community and his country.

The reason why the ballot-box does not now occupy a more honored physical place in the community is because it does not occupy an honored enough place in our thought. Therefore, in attempting the reform here suggested, it will be necessary for Citizenship Clubs to create a sentiment concerning the significance of the ballot-box for America's experiment in democracy. The physical act of placing it in the schoolhouse will in turn stimulate the same sentiment and keep it alive. We must actually come to feel about it as Whittier has expressed it in his poem, "The Poor Man On Elec-

tion Day." We have perhaps regarded this as a beautiful sentiment to be indulged in secret. It will no doubt be harder for the man who is not poor to feel this way. But it is essential that all of us make this our common and unashamed emotion, whenever we touch the ballot-box. A sort of sacred awe is the appropriate feeling. Here are two verses of the poem. If they do not express your attitude as a citizen of America, then you need to examine your conscience and mourn for America as a land of broken promise.

The proudest now is but my peer,
  The highest not more high;
Today, of all the weary year,
  A king of men am I.
Today alike are great and small,
  The nameless and the known;
My palace is the people's hall,
  The ballot box my throne!

While there's a grief to seek redress,
  Or balance to adjust,
Where weighs our living manhood less
  Than Mammon's vilest dust, —
While there's a right to need my vote,
  A wrong to sweep away,
Up! clouted knee and ragged coat!
  A man's a man today!

### 3. An Education for Every Child

The next item on the proposed program of action is that a Citizenship Club should set itself the definite task of making it possible for *every* child in its community to secure at least a grammar school education. This project is simple, although it may be difficult. It is a neglected task, but it is critically important to the nation's welfare.

If clubs are to be stimulated to undertake this task, it is necessary that they make a simple and profound discovery. They must see that children constitute the nation's biggest asset. An unusual census was recently taken in England and the nation's wealth was estimated not in terms of its imports and exports or bank deposits, but in terms of its children. It is high time that every nation should be stabbed broad awake to the realization of this basic fact.

A child is the stuff out of which men and women are made, and how is it possible to have men and women intelligent enough to be citizens in a democracy, unless they have at least a common school education as a start towards this goal? "The child is father of the man," and if Citizenship Clubs will make it possible for these fathers of men and mothers of women, that is, children, to secure a minimum equipment for citizenship, their service to the nation will be such that its value cannot be estimated. The neglect of it will issue in results

which will be obvious enough, as Jefferson pointed out — "If the people," said he, "expect to be free and independent and at the same time ignorant and illiterate they are expecting something that never has been or ever can be."

But why stress a thing which is so obviously true, which everybody would admit? Why, because it isn't true, that is, we don't believe it, we only hold it as a theory. It is worth much that we have gotten far enough to hold it as theoretically true. But we are here considering a program of action. We pass a compulsory attendance bill in one of our State Legislatures, have it nicely printed and tied with a blue ribbon. Then we think our task is done and proceed to indulge in a moral holiday. The tragic fact is that over fifty per cent of the girls and boys of America do not finish the grammar grades of school. Will you please muster up courage enough to stand before that fact until the challenge in it tears off the theoretic rags of our patriotism and reveals the naked poverty and hypocracy of our practice? Any community that does not care for its own children, at least to the extent of giving them a fair start in the race of life, is stupid and morally defective. It is a danger-spot in the nation.

In a certain section of one of our rich and contented Eastern cities, a section which boasts that it gave birth to one of our most inspiring national traditions, over 91 per cent of the girls and boys are

eliminated from school before they finish the grammar grades. This is an un-American and suicidal national policy and forebodes serious evil to the Republic's future. The test of insanity in some asylums is to take a patient to a trough into which an open spigot is running water, give the patient a vessel and ask him to bail the water out of the trough. If he does not have commonsense enough to turn off the spigot before attempting to empty the trough, they adjudge him insane, and justly so. It is a species of social insanity or at the least stupid inefficiency for America as a society to work at the unending task of handling the corrupting stream of influences among adult citizens, without attempting to turn off the supply of defective and unprepared children, out of whom citizens are made. "The walls of Sparta are built of Spartans." Likewise the walls of America are built of Americans and the quality of our national building depends on the nature of the material used in its construction.

When the principal of the school, in the district here referred to, discovered the reasons why the children were eliminated from school, and had attempted to remedy the condition by a simple constructive program of action, she was called before the school board and required to explain and defend her unusual audacity. She was in serious danger of losing her position. This means that only the few exceptional teachers, who are willing to lay down their professional lives in behalf of America,

are free to do what they clearly see needs to be done. It means that the task must be done by an independent agency, like the Community Association of citizens or a department of the Community Association like a Citizenship Club. For reasons already suggested a Citizenship Club is an ideal agency to attempt a task like this.

If, therefore, a Citizenship Club would not spend its time talking about a national system of education, or the lack of it, although it needs to be talked about until it is given a central and commanding position in the Federal Government, such as it has in all other leading civilized nations,—nevertheless, for the purpose of a program of immediate action, if such a club tackled the task here suggested in its home soil, it would render a national service. It should first find out how many children in its own neighborhood are not finishing the grammar grades. It should then seek to remove the obstacles which prevent them from doing so, or provide the means to enable them to do so. It should adopt as its slogan, "A grammar school education, the minimum for every girl and boy in America."

Here is a task, practical, important, and patriotic. If the members of Citizenship Clubs courageously attempted to remove the causes which now rob children of this minimum preparation for citizenship, whether these causes be the kind of studies now pursued in school, or the home con-

ditions of the children, or the economic conditions of the community, they would become missionaries for America, and render a national service just as real and far more permanently valuable, than if they were to enlist in the army at a time of national danger. It is a project big enough and vital enough to enlist the loyal and active support of every lover of American ideals.

### 4. Schoolhouses Available for Use

The next specific item on the program of action here suggested for Citizenship Clubs is to make the schoolhouse available for use by men and women in the process of equipping themselves for citizenship. It may be that in many places the schoolhouse will not be granted for the use of your club. Very well, then, one of your big tasks is ready-made to your hand. It is just the kind of challenge you are looking for; accept it at once. Go on a crusade to secure the use of the schoolhouse, and in winning it for your own use, you will win it for all other typical community activities as well.

In a few states there is a state law making it mandatory on School Boards to open schoolhouses for the use of citizens, when they demand it. In a few other states the law is permissive, leaving it to the judgment of School Boards whether citizens shall or shall not use the schoolhouse. But for the

most part, schoolhouses are not now available for use by citizens. Even in states which have passed a law on the subject, the law is one thing, the practice is another, and a very different thing. The great majority of School Boards throughout the nation are still suffering from the strange illusion that the schoolhouses belong to them rather than to the people. One of the big tasks of present and pressing importance is that citizens should recapture their own property and use it for their needs. Inasmuch as citizens in any district have supplied the money for the erection and support of the institution, they have in their own hands the means of its control. All they need to do is to discover that it belongs to them, and then claim the use of what is their own.

In the process of making the schoolhouses available for the use of youths and adults in the practice of citizenship, there is one distinction which should be kept clearly in mind. It is this: the Community Center Movement is not a school function, nor a government function, but a citizens' function. There are two pieces of machinery which the people use for special and defined purposes: — the town government and the school system. The Community Center should of course maintain most cordial and co-operative relations to these two pieces of machinery, but it should not be directed by either of them. The school officials were given the special task of providing for the education of

children. It is big enough to occupy them. Even if they were not sufficiently occupied, they are handicapped in their equipment for community work. In their work for children, they have a natural tendency to be autocrats. They have acquired the habit. They must naturally be *over* the children, but they should not be *over* the adults. For them autocratically to issue orders to adults as to what they may or may not do, is a thing which adult American citizens cannot endure. It is vital to our political institutions that we should resist the present dangerous and growing tendency on the part of the Government to schoolmaster the people. It is not the business of the Government to support the people but of the people to support the Government. The School System and the Town Government are creatures, not creators. The people are their masters and should determine their policies.

Moreover, school officials are not free to act. A North Carolina judge is the author of the statement that "no man with seven children can be a hero." With children to support he cannot risk the loss of his position by advocating a new and pioneer enterprise like the community center. For this reason, if school officials attempt to control the Community Center Movement, it will no doubt dwindle down into a program for conducting picnics and other nice and harmless activities, which do not even touch the fringe of the great political and educational needs of America today. School teachers can best achieve

their freedom by stimulating organized action on the part of the citizens. Organized pressure by the people from the outside is the method by which all effective reforms in institutions have always been achieved. School teachers, who already believe in the Community Center Movement will thus be liberated and can then render effective service. If Citizenship Clubs will assist to open up the schoolhouses for the use of citizens, they will render a signal service to the Community Center Movement in its pioneer and formative period.

In attempting to open up an established institution to new and unaccustomed uses there is a further distinction which is highly important to make. In suggesting a change in governmental machinery or new uses for it, be not deceived by those who are afraid of the people and who think any proposed change is disloyalty to the government. Governmental machinery was made for the use of the people, not the people for its use. The Community Center Movement makes a clear distinction between the state and the nation. It regards the state as a piece of machinery. Its aim is to organize the nation, to put America into operation, so that citizens may retain their rightful control over governmental machinery, utilizing and changing it as may best serve the common welfare.

It is not loyalty to the government, that makes a good American citizen, but loyalty to the nation. Loyalty to the government is what the Czar of

Russia and the Kaiser of Germany demanded, but the American theory requires loyalty to the people. This distinction is vitally important to American ideals. It has been so effectively stated by Mark Twain, that I quote his statement of it:

"You see my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its office-holders. The country is the real thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags — that is a loyalty of unreason, it is pure animal; it belongs to monarchy, was invented by monarchy; let monarchy keep it. I was from Connecticut, whose Constitution declares 'that all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit; and that they have at all times an undeniable and indefeasible right to alter their form of government in such a manner as they may think expedient.'

"Under that gospel, the citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit, is disloyal; he is a traitor. That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay, does not excuse him; it is his duty to agitate

anyway, and it is the duty of the others to vote him down, if they do not see the matter as he does."

### 5. Community Centers in Operation

The four concrete tasks here suggested are fundamental pieces of work in every American community. They obviously need to be done. The nature of these tasks is such that they cannot be done once and let alone, but require continuous effort for their repeated achievement. They must be labored for in order to be retained. A post will not remain white by letting it alone; it must be repeatedly painted. The four tasks here suggested are tasks of sufficient difficulty to challenge the courage and satisfy the ambition of any Citizenship Club. I name these four tasks as typical of the kind of thing that Citizenship Clubs ought to do, worthy enough to command their loyalty and big enough to retain their devoted interest.

If I were asked to prepare a complete detailed program of activities for Citizenship Clubs from the standpoint of America as a society; activities best suited to furnish training for citizenship and most effective for the continued practice of citizenship after it is acquired, I would unhesitatingly say that such a program is clearly set forth in the numerous and vital activities of a Community Center.

The Community Center Movement not only em-

bodies the ideals to which America was dedicated at her birth, but it also presents a definite plan of action in behalf of social politics. Its aim is to achieve freemen's citizenship, to develop small communities into little democracies with schoolhouses for their capitols, to secure liberty and justice for all, to lift artificial burdens from all shoulders, to apply ethical standards to politics and economics, to help America become a society, so that all citizens, both native and foreign born, when speaking of America, may say "my country," and say it so honestly as to be willing to put the interests of "my country" above the interests of "myself"; in brief, its aim is to put America into operation in every local community through the practice of citizenship.

To achieve this aim it employs a large number of vital practical activities. To describe them would require a whole book by itself. Inasmuch as the author has already written such a book there is no need to repeat it here, but merely to refer Citizenship Clubs to it. It is called "A Community Center, What It is and How to Organize It." * If these clubs are looking for a definite program of action, suited to their purpose, they will find it here. It is sufficient to occupy them not only during their year of training for citizenship, but during their entire life, as they attempt to put into practice the ideals of citizenship, which they have learned

* Published by The Macmillan Co., New York

to love. It is a program adaptable to city, village, and countryside alike. It is a program worthy to command the major loyalty of all young men and women, who honestly desire to play their part as citizens of America.

Their part now is a highly inspiring one, for it is upon them, rather than upon adults, that America must depend to put her ideals into effective operation in local communities. They are open-minded to new ideas; they are congenital democrats; and they have a natural affinity for the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. This is the biggest task challenging the young men and women of America in the new day now dawning. It is the widest open door of opportunity, through which they may enter into the heritage of their fathers. America opened a new road to freedom, their task is to keep the road open. "To you from failing hands we throw the torch; be yours to hold it high."

In the long and painful period of reconstruction, upon which we are now entering, the call which comes to young men and women has urgency in it. The road to freedom which America opened is in serious danger of being closed. It is quite possible that the cause, for which we helped win a victory in Europe, may suffer defeat at home. A bitter and dangerous class warfare is now in progress. By wholesale men are being arrested on suspicion. The right of trial by jury is being denied. Free speech and assembly are suppressed. Everywhere racial

antagonism and economic jealousies are dominant. As a student and lover of America I have a growing conviction that the time has come to revive and resound the warning raised a half-century ago by our typical American, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

That America is now divided against herself is obvious. The nation is suffering from an acute attack of hysteria. It suffered from the same kind of an attack a little more than a hundred years ago and survived it. It will no doubt survive this one. But this one is more serious. The basis of the first one was a political cause; the basis of this one is an economic cause. The men, who make the remark so frequently heard, that in America there are no classes, either do not know, or are unwilling to recognize, the facts. More probably they are honestly trying to deceive themselves, because they are embarrassed by the facts. They are describing things as they ought to be, not as they are. It is worse than idle to keep on repeating this remark when it is contradicted by facts obvious to all who have eyes to see. It is not possible to purify the water in a well, by painting the pump. Wise men are not content to treat symptoms only, they remove causes; they go to the bottom of the well.

Unless we desire merely to indulge in the pleasant pastime of painting the pump, we will face the facts and recognize that in very few places in America do we have anything else but classes.

Everywhere men and women are divided into groups according to their personal taste or occupation. Recently I went to a western city to give one lecture. On account of the social and industrial unrest which might at any time become violent, I was requested to remain to give the community message to as many as possible. To help meet this need I gave sixteen addresses. I had to speak to groups of people like the Chamber of Commerce, Lawyers' Club, Women's Club, Farmers' Convention, Teachers' Institute, and fraternal orders like the Masons and the Elks and other groups with similar labels, separating the people into special classes. But nowhere did I have the opportunity to speak to the citizens of the city. The lawyers, teachers, merchants, women, farmers were all organized, but the citizens were not organized. I asked those in charge of my lectures: "Have you no Citizens?" They answered: "No, only every four years." This condition is typical of the whole country.

In order that I might speak to citizens, a series of three lectures was arranged in public meetings to which all kinds and classes of people came, not, however, as classes but as citizens. These three meetings were worth all the others combined and more. It was when we met thus as citizens, bankers, teachers, lawyers and I. W. W. workingmen all in the same room, and in the meetings used honest discussion and showed a friendly spirit; it was then

that something of real consequence happened and constructive results were achieved of incalculable value to the whole city. If our house is not to fall it must cease to be divided, as Lincoln said. If it is to cease to be divided, it is obvious that a means must be found to bring all men as citizens into common counsel to secure mutual understanding and concerted action. Such a means is furnished by the Community Center Movement with its two pole stars for guidance — honest discussion and intelligent sympathy. We are already twenty-five years too late in starting it. The task will be harder than if we had used forethought, but no time should now be lost in using the instrument to apply American principles to our common needs. There is no nobler piece of public service, which Citizenship Clubs could render, than to make this their desired goal and program of action.

This no doubt at first sight will seem to them to be an ambitious program. But are they not equipping themselves for citizenship? How better can they realize their purpose than by promoting the organization which makes the practice of citizenship possible? Let it be remembered that Citizenship Clubs, because of their very nature, will unconsciously render a large service to the Community Center Movement. If they seek to become departments of Community Centers, they will stimulate their organization. They are in fact community centers in miniature and will thus portray

the community principle in operation. The four specific tasks here suggested are typical community activities, and the club which accepts them as its program, will be the best of training schools for a Community Center.

Even if a Citizenship Club does not attempt to promote a Community Center, but confines itself to one or two activities like those here suggested, it will be wise to use the Community Center ideal as a guiding principle. It is an enormous advantage to set up a clear standard by which all their activities are to be judged. If young men and women, as candidates for citizenship, are to be rescued from distraction and their energies are not to be scattered, their feet should be planted upon a path, a purpose road. If in their period of preparation they do not go far along this road, no matter. When Socrates was asked, "How do you get to Mount Olympus?" he answered, "By doing all your walking in that direction." If Citizenship Clubs succeed in planting the feet of their members on a true purpose road and in stimulating them to begin walking on it towards America's goal, their achievement will be of the highest order. Better a fair start on a main highway which leads to a flying goal, than the completion of a journey over a by-path, which leads nowhere.

As the author sends forth this little book to inaugurate a movement for better citizenship, he can-

not refrain from congratulating Young America on the open door of opportunity set before them to mold the new era now in travail to be born. He is impressed by the fact that the triumph or defeat of the new era will be determined in the open minds of young men and women, who are now coming to their majority.

Youth demands an epic life and it has an unprecedented chance to have its demand met today in America. The author would remind these, who undertake the task proposed by the Citizenship Club Movement, that they are attempting an enterprise second to none in value to the Nation. They are aiming to meet America's greatest present and permanent need. What is that? Is it not to visualize the public interest and make it paramount? To enlist in this cause with the passion of religious devotion is the trumpet call, which the new era makes to America's youth.

The Citizenship Club Movement appeals to young men and women to approach their task with the same spiritual exaltation they felt during the war. Out of the war was born a phrase which may serve to stimulate this ideal. It is the phrase "carry on." In the white light of the heroic struggle, which gave birth to the phrase, it has acquired a wealth of figurative meaning beyond its first literal application. It stands for a sort of spiritual splendor — heroic devotion to community welfare. The author suggests that this phrase be

kept in constant use by every Citizenship Club, for the movement rests on the conviction that the nation's walls of defense can only be built of her chivalrous sons and daughters, who have this feeling for their country, and whose patriotism in peace equals their patriotism in war.

# APPENDICES

(A). A Flag of Love and Hate
(B). Suggestions for Organizing a Club
(C). Suggestions for Conducting a Club
(D). Reception of New Citizens
(E). List of Books for Reading and Study
(F). National Charters of American Freedom
1. *Declaration of Independence*
2. *Federal Constitution*

"Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections."

— GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Reproduction of a flag into which is woven the story of a Russian family's love and hate, a story containing a significant challenge to all Citizenship Clubs.

See page 189.

## APPENDIX A

## A FLAG OF LOVE AND HATE

GLADYS ELLARIONOFF was the maker of the flag of love and hate. As she cross-stitched the stars and stripes on a piece of linen, designed for a pillow cover, strands of affection were woven with the silken threads. That it was almost converted into a flag of hate, was no fault of hers, but the fault of someone who misrepresented America and masqueraded as a patriot.

She knew no word of English, when at six years old she arrived in America. She skipped three grades and now at fourteen is a sophomore in a high school in Seattle. It would be difficult to distinguish her in any group of modest, attractive, American high school girls, excepting that mentally she is well above the average.

She felt a keen sense of gratitude to the American Public School and was happy with her school comrades. Her parents, who are ambitious and superior people, loved America for the opportunity of self-development they enjoyed. They saved and sacrificed in order to subscribe for Liberty bonds of the first four issues. The part America played in the

"war for justice and democracy" aroused the enthusiasm of Gladys to such a pitch that it needed an outlet. The form in which it expressed itself was the making of the flag, coupled with the motto, "America, I love you." This sentiment is the true expression of the honest feeling of the entire family for the country, which had served them well, and which they in turn would gladly serve.

Now, one year later, the family's trunks are packed to return to Russia. They want to go. They are unhappy here. In packing her trunk Gladys took up the flag, but could not put it in. She said, "I cannot take it to Russia; I hate it." What she had lovingly spent her labor upon was now a symbol of torture. Her little sister suggested that she rip out the motto, because it no longer told the truth, and take the flag alone. She wept bitter tears when she started to act on this suggestion, but her mother counseled delay in the hope that a better way out might appear.

Why this reversal of feeling for America? Gladys had been cut to the quick by the taunts of her schoolmates that her father bore upon his name the stigma of a criminal. He was among the 350 aliens who had been "rounded up" like cattle in the night by an official raid on the suspicion that they were dangerous. Dangerous to whom? Only 27 out of the 350 could be kept on any pretext of a charge. But to be arrested on suspicion, detained over night in jail when no charge of wrong doing

was brought or could be brought against him, outraged the father's sense of justice.

As a result the father lost his position. He is an honest, peaceful, intelligent man. He was a soil chemist for his Government in Russia. After coming here he became a safe and door maker. He attended night school and is now an expert machinist. The man put in his place knew little or nothing about his work, and yet America needs men and is preaching the need of more production. But he is a Russian; that is enough. He cannot get a position. It is true he had not become a naturalized citizen. Before coming to America he tried and failed to get a permit from his government to become a United States citizen. The penalty for doing so without such a permit was twenty-five years in dreaded Siberia, if he should return to his native land. While not technically a citizen, he was an American at heart. But these facts had no weight in securing him fair treatment.

It is not quite fair to say that this family hates America. They had worshipped America's ideals and had come with high hopes. This is what they found. I heard from them no word of bitterness, only expressions of sorrow that they had found a land of broken promise. All they ask is their passport so that the family may return together. If they go, it will be Russia's gain and America's loss. If, under the circumstances, Seattle permits them to go, it will put a stain upon America's honor.

Who is responsible for treating such a man in such a fashion? To what extent it is a national policy, or to what extent it is due to "the never-ending audacity of elected persons," it is unnecessary here to discuss. Whoever is responsible for it, it is unjust, inhuman, and un-American. All citizens who know and love America's ideals ought to make their protest so emphatic as to prevent its repetition. By such a policy we deliberately create a hate for America in the hearts of those who want to love her. This is not the American way; it is the stupid violation of the American way. In fairness it should be remembered that this outbreak of unreasoning prejudice misrepresents the heart of America. It is due to an acute attack of organized hysteria from which the nation has permitted itself to be inoculated. It will pass. We will recover.

When a casual remark in my lecture at Seattle on community ideals encouraged a woman to tell me this story, I suggested that I had a use in America for this little flag, which Gladys could not take to Russia. Through a group of noble women, who verified the facts and are humiliated by them, I met the family, an attractive wholesome intelligent family, a real asset to any community. After the smoke screen of fear surrounding them was removed by an explanation of my purpose, they insisted that I accept the flag as a gift from Gladys. In photographing the flag the family is so arranged as to suggest the tragedy of their story. They look in

serious concern upon it as the symbol of their broken hopes, or in meditation as upon a fallen idol.

This story embodies an extreme, though unfortunately not an exceptional, manifestation of a temporary and passing wave of fear on the part of America. But I use it to make pointed an idea essential to the success of the Citizenship Club movement. It makes vivid the fact that, unless we first of all Americanize ourselves, our insincere attempt to help resident aliens will be labor lost. It makes manifest the fact that the sons and daughters of resident aliens on the average are worthy to be associated in a training course for citizenship with native-born sons and daughters, if we take the American ideals of character and intelligence as our standards. It exhibits the fact that before considering methods of organizing and conducting Citizenship Clubs, the thing to be put and kept in the foreground is a right attitude of mind. Methods of procedure are details. The creative and guiding principle is an attitude of intelligent sympathy, a spirit of democratic comradeship. Without such an attitude all our effort will be like pulling a harrow over frozen ground. After an address on community centers I once made in the Kentucky mountains, a young man went straight to the heart of the matter in his quaint remark, "We have had love and sympathy in too small skimption." Citizenship Clubs invite their members to join in the adventure of being human.

## APPENDIX B

## SUGGESTIONS FOR ORGANIZING A CLUB

1. WHEN a new movement needs to be started, it is a common habit for many people to let someone else do it. If everyone says, "Let George do it," it will not be done. Don't wait, start it yourself. Any individual, or group of individuals or institution may start a Citizenship Club. Call even a few young people together to talk it over. Their choice of a permanent leader may be you or it may not. You elect yourself to be temporary chairman to prime the pump and start the movemen in operation.

2. If a club is to be conducted it needs a conductor. Who shall its guide or leader be? Any man or woman who has the ability and willingness to perform the task. The guide does not need to be a professional advisor. Any one, with or without technical training, who can produce the desired result, is the right person for the work.

3. How shall the guide be selected? While any school teacher or town official or any citizen or organization may take the initiative in starting a Citizenship Club, the guide of the club should

be selected by the members of the Club itself. Young people have a keen and correct knowledge of adults and their judgment may be safely trusted.

4. The club ought to be organized with its own officers and committees appointed to take charge of the various activities. Don't be afraid to give the young people large responsibility. They can take it and this is a part of the training. The leader ought to work not *for* them but *with* them.

5. It will be necessary to consult many books in order to secure the information needed on various elements in the equipment sought. This means that no one book will be used as a textbook, that whole sections in certain books will be passed by. This is the best way to treat some books. Remember, that the purpose is not to study subjects, but to train citizens. This is a highly important distinction.

6. The big guiding principle to remember is the necessity of establishing a point of contact in teaching. Discover the state of mind and stage of development of the people to be taught. Take your stand with them and lead them from where they are up to where you think they ought to be. If we want to get anywhere, we have to start from where we are.

7. There is one common blunder, which ought to be carefully avoided. Don't underrate the capacity of young people. Give them a big and difficult task. They like it and are equal to it. One of the

most effective and popular statements of the essential difference between the opposing sides in the World War was made by a school girl of Paris. The best section of a book on "The League of Nations," which the writer recently edited was contributed by a high school boy of Washington. Those with experience realize that average young people are more capable of considering big problems and reading difficult books and thinking big thoughts than are average adults.

8. As one item in the year's training, it would be well for members of the Club to stage a play, such as one of the three dramas of democracy mentioned in the list of references. This will not only be a pleasurable recreation, but help to make vivid America's ideals. For the same two reasons it would be well to relieve the stress of work by having some one occasionally read one of McMurry's stories of our pioneers.

9. It will be difficult for the teacher to determine which members of the Club are qualified to receive the degree of citizenship at the public meeting. This is due to the method of training. It is not arranged to suit the process of giving examination marks, but to make young people better equipped for life. Of course, the regularity of attendance, interest in the studies, contribution of thought at the weekly meetings are factors to be considered. But it is suggested that the fair and the simplest way to reach a correct conclusion is to have each

member, towards the end of the year, write an essay on "What America Means to Me," and to let this essay have most weight in determining the result. If the leader needs help, an outside Committee could be utilized in examining the papers.

10. When the number of those eligible to receive the medal of honor is determined, the leader is asked to make the statement and the list of names, and to have the statement countersigned by two public officials in the community, one representing the public schools, and one the town government. This statement should be sent with the order for the medals. The individual members may pay for the medals, or it might be well for the Club to start a fund, so that they could all be paid for by the Club as a whole. Such a fund could be secured by charging an admission fee for the dramatic performance, or in many other ways which will suggest themselves. A fund may be needed also to pay the traveling expenses of commencement speakers, for an effort should be made to secure the best speakers available.

11. It is probable that in some communities it will not be suitable to begin the course of study in September in order to finish it before July. It may be more convenient to begin it in mid-winter. To meet this need it is suggested that two dates be designated for the commencement exercises, — February 12th and July 4th. Both dates are appropriate for the purpose. This would enable any Club

to begin its course of 30 weeks study either in September or in January.

12. If you think the members of your club are not equal to the method of study here suggested, or if you prefer the text-book method, you may select one from the seven named in the Appendix. They represent several different types of treatment and are adapted to capacities ranging from the first grammar grades to the last year of high school and beyond.

13. Whatever method of study you decide to pursue you will need the club organization to create the consciousness of the need of training for citizenship and to maintain the morale for making it effective, as well as to conduct other activities which are also a part of the training.

14. It would be wise to use the method here suggested as far as possible, because it is designed to develop the capacity for bold and clear thinking. This is a necessary equipment for citizenship in a free country; without it, citizens will be lost when they come to vote on public policies. There will be no text books to guide them. Moreover, it will be found that normal young people twenty years old do not care for predigested food.

15. The suggestions here offered are for the most part general. Each Club should work out its own detailed plans of procedure, even if some one else could do it better. It is essential to the purpose of the Club that its members cultivate the spirit of

self-reliance and acquire the habit of self-directed activity. This is what citizenship in a democracy means, and those in training for it can best acquire this habit by the practice of it.

16. Those who desire to start clubs and those selected to be the guides or leaders of clubs are urged to make a careful study of Franklin's Autobiography and McMurry's brief type study called, "Benjamin Franklin and Social Service." He furnishes a fine example of what a citizen can do for his community. He should be studied as a model for all community secretaries.

## APPENDIX C

## SUGGESTIONS FOR CONDUCTING A CLUB

1. THE important thing for you, the members of the Club, to remember is that you are conducting it. Your leader is not doing it for you, but is the guide to assist you to do it for yourselves.

2. Think of America as a society and yourselves as present or prospective members of it, soon to assume the duties of full membership. You are going to study the nature of this society, what it does for the welfare of its members and how you can help it to do more.

3. This may be one of the most profitable as well as most pleasurable years of your life. Therefore make a conscious attempt to compel it to yield you the richest returns. Begin by attending every meeting. Every link in the chain is important.

4. Spend the first or the first two evenings in reading and discussing the article on a Citizenship Club, in order to understand clearly its purpose and spirit, and its general plan of operation.

5. By this time you will be somewhat acquainted with each other and with the nature of the Club. You are then ready to organize, elect your officers, appoint committees and make the rules of your own procedure.

6. Please note that any attempt to thrust on you a cut and dried plan has been purposely omitted. If you mean to be an American, it is necessary for you to develop personal initiative and if you already have the American spirit you will want to do something for yourself.

7. You will need to map out the work of the year, to determine about how much time will be given to each of the three parts of the subject to be studied, whether you want to give one of the patriotic plays, what definite piece of public service the Club wishes to undertake. Such committees as those on the drama, the public service and the commencement should be appointed early in the year.

8. In order to prevent waste of time it will be necessary to make a few rules to regulate the meet-

ings, how much it will be given to study and how much to play, how much time to the presentation and reading of documents and how much to the discussion of them, how often and how long each member may speak on the same subject. Be careful not to limit your own freedom by too many rules. Remember the Senate.

9. You will no doubt agree that the open forum principle is the best of all educational methods in treating any subject. It will sharpen your wits, compel you to be accurate, help you to respect the other fellow, cultivate the spirit of tolerance, enable you to differ in opinion without differing in feeling, and give you the chance to discover that it is possible for you to be mistaken.

10. Each member should be urged to keep a good note book to be used in the meetings and outside. Keep a record of your own thoughts on the subject, of the good things said in the discussion, references to books, chapters of books, bulletins, magazine articles, where to find information on various phases of the subject. It is wise to gather up the results of your work and not allow them to escape. In years to come you will probably turn often to this note book for valuable material.

11. The two documents in each of the three parts of this book are put there merely to prime the pump, to stimulate you to search for similar or better ones. But until your own pump gets into working order these six documents may be used as

a basis for study and discussion. They are quite sufficient to occupy you for an entire year, if you decide to use them. They will suggest and lead you out into all kinds of riches. If your Club does any concerted piece of public service, be sure to have several members write accounts of it and send the best one to the editor of this series of Citizenship Club books.

12. Don't get scared or discouraged if the six documents in this book seem at first sight a little difficult. Don't surrender to them; make them surrender to you. If they strain your mental muscles, they are doing what they were intended to do. In athletic exercises the real benefit comes when you reach the point of distress. It is so mentally. One of the best of all methods for developing your ability to understand a document is to prepare a series of questions designed to exhibit its meaning. You have made real progress in any subject, when you are able to ask an intelligent question about it. If this year's study enables you to acquire the ability and habit of reading documents like these intelligently, it will be the best investment of a year's time you ever made. A chief equipment for citizenship in a country like ours is the ability to read the nation's documents accurately and form an intelligent opinion. Don't lower the level of the kind of documents you read. Raise yourself up to the level of the best. The best is none too good for an American.

13. It is suggested that all clubs make a careful study of Franklin's "Junto," a weekly club he founded in 1727 and which he says "was the best school of philosophy, morality and politics that then existed in the province." It had a profound influence on his personal development and was the instrument for putting into operation many useful projects in behalf of the community. Franklin's "Junto" will be most suggestive to Citizenship Clubs concerning the subjects to be studied and the method of treating them. It will be most helpful in suggesting the spirit that should guide the meetings. He says, "our debates were to be conducted in the sincere spirit of inquiry after truth without fondness for dispute or desire of victory." Franklin's club will also serve to stimulate young men and women to see what a profoundly important service Citizenship Clubs can render to them and to the nation.

## APPENDIX D

## RECEPTION OF NEW CITIZENS

THE ceremony of induction into full citizenship may and should be made inspiring and impressive. An impression worthy of its importance will be produced, if it is conducted by some man or woman who is an old and honored citizen of the community,

specially selected for this part of the program. If the degree of citizenship and medal of honor come from the failing hands of age to the strong hands of youth, the significance of the act will be made more apparent by the pointed contrast. The following is suggested as the type of address fitted for use in the ceremony:

### CONFERRING THE DEGREE

To you, who are twenty-one, who are about to live a responsible public life, to assume the duties of citizenship, to acquire the rights of franchise, we, who are about to surrender them, extend a glad welcome, into the fellowship of mutual and continuous service.

We receive you into the active membership of the nation; we entrust into your keeping the rich heritage received by us from our predecessors; we present to you the challenge of an unfinished task; we confer upon you the degree of citizen.

In your preparation for this conspicuous honor, you have begun to realize something of its true meaning. In the high hope and courage of this hour, we express the confident expectation that you will pass it on to your successors, unstained and undishonored. Whether or not our country shall become a land of broken promise depends in large part upon the measure of your devotion to her experiment in democracy.

As you plant your feet today on the long and difficult path into an untried future, we equip you with the spiritual weapon of orderly progress, the distinguished mark of free men and women, the emblem of the individual's enfranchisement, the right to vote. We offer you this and our love together. We shall accompany you in thought with sympathetic concern, as we retire from the places you advance to occupy. "To you from failing hands we throw the torch; be yours to hold it high."

## APPENDIX E

## LIST OF BOOKS FOR READING AND STUDY

In accordance with the Citizenship Club idea, the references are purposely brief and incomplete. A few types of books are suggested to indicate the kind of book which may be used with profit. They can be multiplied to any extent according to the need and pleasure of each club, which ought to collect a few books for its own little working library.

### IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS

The Declaration of Independence.
The Constitution of the United States.

The Great Tradition. — Greenlaw-Hanford.
American Ideals. — Foerster-Pierson.
Readings in American Government. — Charles A. Beard.

### THE NATION'S HISTORY

History of the United States. — George Bancroft.
History of the United States. — John Fiske.

### AS OTHERS SEE US

The American Commonwealth. — James Bryce.
Democracy in America. — De Tocqueveille.
The Re-making of a Mind. — Henry de Man.

### AMERICAN PIONEERS

Pioneers on Land and Sea. — Charles A. McMurry.
Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley. — Charles A. McMurry.
Pioneers of the Rocky Mountains. — Charles A. McMurry.

### A KNOWLEDGE OF GOVERNMENT

The American Government. — Frederic J. Haskin.
Your Vote and How to Use It. — Mrs. Raymond Brown.
Use your Government. — Alissa Franc.
Proportional Representation. — John H. Humphreys.

Public Opinion and Popular Government. — A. Lawrence Lowell.
Vital Issues. — Charles N. Haskins.

### DRAMAS OF DEMOCRACY

Schiller's "William Tell." — Charles A. McMurry.
America First. — Jasper L. McBrien.
Esther Wake. — Adolph Vermont.

### BIOGRAPHIES OF GREAT AMERICANS

In the Days of Jefferson. — Hezekiah Butterworth.
Autobiography. — Benjamin Franklin.
Abraham Lincoln. — Brand Whitlock.

### SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The Real Business of Living. — James H. Tufts.
Changing America. — Edward A. Ross.

### COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The Social Center. — Edward J. Ward.
A Community Center. — Henry E. Jackson.

### POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

American Political Ideals. — John Fiske.
Political Ideals. — Bertrand Russell.
The State. — Franz Oppenheimer.
Pay-Day. — C. Hanford Henderson.
The World Crisis. — Felix Adler.

The Old Freedom. — Francis Neilson.
Our America. — Waldo Frank.

TEXT-BOOKS IN CIVICS

Preparing for Citizenship. — William B. Guitteau.
American Citizenship. — Charles A. Beard.
American Social Problems. — Burch-Patterson.
The Community and the Citizen — Arthur W. Dunn.
Elements of Economics. — Burch-Nearing.
Americanization and Citizenship. — Hanson H. Webster.
A Course in Citizenship. — Cabot-Andrews.

## APPENDIX F

## NATIONAL CHARTERS OF AMERICAN FREEDOM

### THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of

nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

### THREE SELF-EVIDENT TRUTHS

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed, by their creator, with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness.

### WHY PROGRESS IS SLOW

Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.

### THE RIGHT OF REVOLUTION

But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government.

### A BILL OF PARTICULARS

(NOTE: The Bill of Particulars is omitted, because it narrates conditions which long ago ceased to exist. It has value only as a memorandum of the past. But the principles of the Declaration, which gave birth to the Nation, have imperishable value. The only way to preserve their significance is to practice them. It is the duty and privilege of each generation to substitute a new Bill of Particulars, applying these principles to the social, political, and economic conditions of its own day.

It is, therefore, suggested that Citizenship Clubs undertake the task of drafting a new substitute Bill of Particulars, which shall suggest improvements in the political machinery of the nation; point out obstacles in the way of the development and freedom of the individual; and keep alive the

process of keeping ourselves free from conditions when they become intolerable.

As a practical activity in the course of training for citizenship, none could be more helpful than the attempts to apply America's original ideals to our present needs. It is difficult for a nation to achieve its independence; it is far more difficult for it to keep itself independent. If members of Citizenship Clubs are to learn what it means to be a citizen today, the first essential for them to understand is that the ideals, bequeathed by the founders of the Republic, must be labored for, if they are to be retained. They only opened a road to freedom, our more difficult task is to keep it open.)

### THE TIES OF BROTHERHOOD

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we

have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

### RESPONSIBILITY FOR FREEDOM

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United States Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliance, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. *And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.*

# CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

## PREAMBLE.

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

## THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

### ARTICLE I.

#### Section 1.

1. All legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

#### Section 2.

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States; and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall

not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3.

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

(See Amendment XVII.)

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial judgment, and punishment, according to law

Section 4.

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 5.

1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section 6.

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by

law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

## Section 7.

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated; who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by

the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him; or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section 8.

1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes:

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and to fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads:

8. To promote the progress of science and useful

arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court:

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:

13. To provide and maintain a navy:

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such parts of them as may be employed in the service of the United States; reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings: — and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and

proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.

Section 9.

1. The immigration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

### Section 10.

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

## Article II.

## THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

### Section 1.

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years; and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal

to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such a majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said House shall, in like manner, choose a President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the Vice-President.

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their

votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President: neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States; and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

## Section 2.

1. The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service

of the United States. He may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3.

1. He shall, from time to time, give to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them; and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. He shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all officers of the United States.

### Section 4.

1. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

## Article III.

## THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

### Section 1.

1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior; and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

### Section 2.

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States; and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as Congress may by law have directed.

### Section 3.

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

## Article IV.

## MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

### Section 1.

1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State; and Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2.

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3.

1. New States may be admitted by Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of Congress.

2. Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4.

1. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall

protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

### Article V.

1. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as parts of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the State.

### Article VI.

1. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures,

and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support the Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

### Article VII.

1. The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution beween the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington,
*President, and Deputy from Virginia.*

## AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

### Article I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

### Article II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be put twice in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory proc-

ess for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

### Article VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

### Article VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

### Article IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

### Article X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

### Article XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

### Article XII.

1. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one

of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. They shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But, in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President. A quorum for the purpose

shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

## Article XIII.

*Section* 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

*Section* 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

## Article XIV.

*Section* 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

*Section* 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President or Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State,

being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

*Section* 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

*Section* 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

*Section* 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this Article.

### Article XV.

*Section* 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United

States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

*Section* 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

### Article XVI.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

### Article XVII.

Amendment to the first paragraph of section 3, article I, of the Constitution of the United States, and in lieu of so much of paragraph two of the same section as relates to the filling of vacancies, as follows: "The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancy; *Provided,* that the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election, as the legislature may direct. This amendment shall not be so construed to affect the election or term of any senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the constitution."

### Article XVIII.

*Section* 1. After one year from the ratification of this article, the manufacture, sale, or transportation of

intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

*Section* 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

## ARTICLE XIX.

The right of citizens of the United States shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

# POSTSCRIPT

AFTER this book went to the press the Community Center Division of the Bureau of Education was discontinued by order of the new Secretary of the Interior. History repeats itself frequently in Washington. This is only one among many other enterprises, which have been established with patient self-sacrificing labor, and then abandoned for lack of intelligent appreciation or financial support.

The Bureau of Education is thus denied the chance to honor itself by assisting to promote the Citizenship Club movement, as it had hoped to do. But the enterprise will not suffer loss. The National Community Board, which had already planned to conduct the major part of it, will volunteer to take over also the Bureau's abandoned task and do the work of both. It feels obligated not only to do its own part, but also that of its fallen comrade.

THE AUTHOR.

July 15, 1920

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

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In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory proc-

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2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President. A quorum for the purpose